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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

The California Indians

Archaeology, Varieties of Culture, Arts of Life

By Robert F. Heizer

The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte

By Florian Guest, o.f.m.

An Early Example of Anglo-American Collaboration at Monterey

Edited by John A. Hawgood

MARCH 1962

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The California Indians:

Archaeology, Varieties of Culture, Arts of Life

By ROBERT F. HEIZER

THE FIRST CALIFORNIA INDIANS seen by white men, visited with, and described in writing, were the tribe called Chumash whose home lay on the islands and mainland shore of Santa Barbara. This first contact of the two races occurred with the sea expedition of Cabrillo in 1542, exactly fifty years after the discovery of America.[1]

In 1579 Sir Francis Drake summered among the tribe of Indians named the Coast Miwok. This fact is made certain by the identification of several Indian words and phrases occurring in the records of the Drake voyage.[2] Whether Drake's crew brought the *Golden Hind* into San Francisco Bay or careened her in what is now known as Drake's Bay, is a question which has never been settled with evidence. Either landfall is possible, and the choice of one or the other is a matter of opinion and not known fact.[3]

In 1595 Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño had the misfortune to lose his ship, the *San Agustín,* in Drake's Bay. Historians have long known of this incident but circumstantial detail was furnished by the discovery in 1940, by archaeologists of the University of California, of a quantity of iron spikes from the ship and fragments of Chinese Ming porcelain from her cargo buried in former Indian village sites of the Coast Miwok tribe on the shores of Drake's Bay.[4]

ROBERT F. HEIZER received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of California, Berkeley. After holding teaching positions at the University of Oregon and at the University of California, Los Angeles, Dr. Heizer returned to his alma mater in 1946 where he is currently professor of anthropology. Author of over one hundred articles in leading anthropological journals, Professor Heizer has also written and edited five volumes on anthropological topics: *Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579; The California Indians* (co-edited with M. A. Whipple); *A Manual of Archaeological Field Methods; The Four Ages of Tsurai;* and *The Archaeologist at Work.*

As with the Chumash and Coast Miwok who were found still living in the same areas they occupied in the sixteenth century when European settlement occurred in the late eighteenth century, so with the numerous other tribes—all indications point to an extraordinarily settled and long established residence of the native peoples of California.

By combining the information in historical maps and documents with that secured by anthropologists whose efforts have been directed to securing from living Indians data on native customs, language, tribal boundaries, and the like, the map and listing of tribes shows the state to have been held in aboriginal possession by no fewer than 105 separate tribes or nations.[5] By definition a tribe comprises a body of people who share in common a group name, a particular speech or dialect, and a common territory. In California several tribes may share a closely similar speech, and it is the rules of political independence and exclusive ownership of a delimited territory which serve to differentiate the various tribal groups.

In native California there were spoken dialects of no fewer than five language stocks or families. Four of the native linguistic stocks present in California occur elsewhere among North American Indians, the general indication being that the California representatives of these stocks are detached segments who long ago separated from the main body of speakers, found their way west to California, and have maintained themselves and their distinctive speech since their arrival. The fifth linguistic stock, called Yukian, has not with certainty been related to any other American language—it is distinctively and solely Californian. This whole matter of language, interesting though it be, must be passed over with the conclusion that California has received in the past contingents of most of the major North American Indian language stocks. There is, therefore, nothing like a single California Indian language, but rather, over one hundred dialects, of which perhaps seventy per cent are as mutually unintelligible as Chinese and English. No area of equal size in North America or, according to some, in the entire world, exhibited such a rich variety of native languages. The present-day diversity of origins of California residents has, in a general way, an ancient precedent among its Indian populations.

The physical type of the California Indians varied in detail, although basically all were members of the Mongoloid race in common with other American Indians and the peoples of eastern Asia. Among the generic Mongoloid race traits possessed by the native tribes of California are the following: straight, coarse, black hair; prominent malar or cheek bones; brown skin color; brown eyes; and shovel-shaped upper incisor teeth. The significant local differences which enable the physical anthropologist to identify what he calls types revolve around group average differences in stature, head form, nose form, face form, and the like. The researches of Professor Edward W. Gifford, former Director of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, enabled him to distinguish three main Indian physical types.[6] These are first, the Yuki centering in Mendocino County in the north central part of the state, who are characterized by short stature, a low face, broad nose, and a long, narrow skull. Second is the Western Mono type, represented in the small area occupied by the tribes of the southern Sierra Nevada Mountains and the peoples of the Los Angeles coast, and Santa Catalina and San Clemente islands. This type is medium in stature, high-faced, narrow-headed, and with a nose of medium proportions of length and breadth. Third is the Californian type which is characteristic of the greater part of the state, and which is marked by broad heads and high faces. Within the Californian type is a broad-nosed subtype found in the central part of the state, a narrow-nosed subtype found in the northeast and extending south along the Sierra Nevada, and a tall subtype found along the Colorado River.

With reference to the economy or subsistence means and population numbers, the situation is similarly variable. Areas which were well watered produced a variety of edible plants, and regions which had an abundance of game and fish were more densely settled than the arid or mountainous portions of the state. Thus the coastal strip, from the ocean front back as far as the lower reaches of the major streams or to the edge of the great central valley, supported from one and one-half to two persons per square mile. The flatter interior regions of central California and the lower foothills of the Sierras could support about one Indian per square mile, while the desert and mountain areas were so limited in natural foods that here the density dropped to as low as one Indian per eight square miles.[7] Relative to the rest of North America north of Mexico, Californian Indian population was very heavy, as may be seen from the fact that the state of California, while comprising only one per cent of the total land area of North America, nevertheless contained ten per cent of the total number of Indians on the continent.[8]

We have thus far observed local variability in speech, population density, and physical types of the native inhabitants of California. The same situation holds for what anthropologists call "culture areas." A culture area is a region which can be delimited geographically, and within whose bounds certain distinctive features of dress, types of houses, methods of manufacturing baskets, ways of carrying out routine activities, modes of economic pursuit, and the like are present, and are different, to a greater or lesser degree, from the same features practiced by the tribes of other culture areas. In no small part these distinctive patterns of culture are the outward expression of accommodation to external or environmental factors such as temperature, rainfall, terrain, animal life, economic plants, and the like. There is implied by this no direct environmental determinism, but the fact remains that cultural responses are usually accommodated to the environmental conditions, so that a molding or shaping or channeling of the culture is undoubtedly effected by the conditions of nature under which people live.

It is possible to recognize six major culture areas within aboriginal California. For four of these six areas we can with some assurance identify specific single tribes who typify the regional pattern of culture. These tribes, or rather their cultures, have been referred to by Dr. Alfred Kroeber as "hearths," the term indicating that here is represented most elaborately or intensively the particular pattern of culture which is shared by the several tribes comprising that particular culture area.[9] Within each culture area there will be better or worse favored areas for gaining a livelihood, and the tribe which held the locality that produced food in greater abundance may be assumed to have been relieved of continuous activity directed toward food-getting, with the result that their leisure time was utilized to elaborate one or more major aspects of culture such as ritual and ceremonial, material culture, warfare, or whatever. Let us briefly review the characteristic features of the several distinctive local types of Indian culture which existed within the present state boundaries.

The Northwestern area includes the territories of fourteen separate tribes which, though not uniform in language, do share with each other a series of culture elements which set them off as different from the tribal aggregates of the Northeastern and Central areas which abut to the east and south. The Northwestern type of culture is clearly a southward abridgment or extension of the general North Pacific Coast culture which obtains as far north as the Gulf of Alaska.[10] Along the entire length of this coastal area for a distance of some 1500 miles the cultures are adjusted to a rain forest environment, settlements cluster on the ocean coast or lower rivers, salmon is a food staple, large, excellently made dugout canoes serve as the chief means of travel, dwellings are rectangular in plan with gabled roofs and walls made of planks split with maul and wedge from straight-grained trees, and society is organized on the primary basis of the amount of wealth possessed. Of the Northwest California tribes, the Yurok[11] on the lower Klamath River and the neighboring Hupa[12] of the lower Trinity River are indicated as the hearth tribes, for among these two groups material arts, ceremonial costume, and number and complexity of religious dances[13] were brought to the greatest pitch.

Here the rivers and ocean were the roads, travel between villages usually being by boat. These canoes, laboriously shaped and hollowed from a redwood log, were nearly flat-bottomed with blunted ends, and were admirably suited for running the swift rivers. In the ocean they were also used but with more difficulty, and on occasion the coastal Yurok hunted sea lions on the offshore rocks. Land, as is usual with American Indians, was owned in common by the group. An individual person might, in Northwestern California, hold exclusive gathering rights to the acorn crop from a particular grove of oaks, or the grass seed from an open prairie, or the sole right to fish for salmon from a certain pool. Such private ownership of resources was carried further in this area than elsewhere in aboriginal California.[14] This situation is part of the great emphasis which the Yurok and their neighbors placed upon ownership of both privileges and material goods, and a man's social status was determined by his possession of scalps of the redheaded woodpecker, large chipped knives or blades made from red or black obsidian, rare furs such as skins of white or near-white colored deer, and the tusk-shaped tubular mollusk shells of dentalia which came from the north by intertribal trade. Northwestern California Indians made no pottery, their containers being either hollowed out of soft soapstone, whittled from redwood, or made of basketry. The basketry was invariably twined[15] and the coiled type of basketry so common in Central and Southern California was here unknown.[16] Women wore twined basketry caps which were decorated with woven geometric designs. Women's dress was a fringed buckskin apron; men wore a tanned deerskin wrapped around the hips. The Northwestern peoples are notable among California Indians for the care which they took in manufacturing tools and implements.[17] These are always neatly made and often decorated with carving. In our terms, we would call them excellent craftsmen.

The Yurok are widely known for their highly developed and precise system of law.[18] Every possession and privilege and every injury or offense can be exactly valued in terms of property. Every invasion of privilege or possession must be compensated for. Accident, intent, ignorance, malice, and negligence are never considered a factor in the settlement of a claim which may be levied for infraction of privilege or property rights. Only the fact of damage and the amount that is properly assessable for the damage are considered. Settlement of a claim is arranged by negotiations carried out by intermediaries who are not related to the plaintiff or defendant. When compensation has been agreed upon and accepted, the matter is irrevocably concluded—the harboring of resentment is improper and dangerous since a man who held a grudge after a matter was settled and who could in any fashion whatsoever be connected with the commission of a subsequent injury would lay himself open to an additional suit. In fact, the known cherishing of resentment might be alleged as *prima facie* evidence of responsibility in the event of an injury at the hands of an unidentifiable personal agency. Since all persons, as well as rights, privileges, and property belonging to them, have precise valuations, and these will differ from individual to individual, every legal claim pressed by one person will have to be compensated for through bargaining, the intermediaries of the plaintiff pressing as vigorously as they can, and those of the defendant resisting to the utmost until agreement is reached.[19]

Men who come of good families—that is, men whose fathers and grandfathers were well-to-do—are on all counts likely to be in a position to lodge and press a claim more strongly than a man whose family never amounted to much. By our use of the term law to describe the judicial procedure among the Yurok we do not necessarily mean equity, for, as always, even among ourselves, social status, wealth, resolution, and determination may tip the scales of justice. And, like us, the Yurok accepted the facts of life, made the best they could of them, and thus insured the continuance of the institutions of social control.

The Yurok have been described as emotionally tense and suspicious.[20] This psychology is in accord with their constant desire to gain additional wealth and preserve what they already have. The Yurok schemes constantly for a chance to lodge a claim or avoid any obligation which may cost him money. The richer a man the greater the measure of politeness shown to him, for a slighting remark would open the way to a claim for compensation. Speaking the name of a dead person of wealth, acts of physical violence, striking a rich man's son, and the like, were common reasons for a claim for damages to be levied. A poor man who could not pay the heavy fine for damage inflicted upon a rich man would become a debtor slave in order to fulfill his obligations. One instance of Yurok law will suffice for illustration. A low-born Yurok man, socially classed as illegitimate, once burned over a hillside. This practice was a very common one since it kept the brush and trees back, encouraged seed-bearing grasses to grow, and provided open lands where deer could be hunted. This man was not doing anything illegal by the act of firing the grass. He managed to run afoul of the law, nevertheless, since a rich man from a nearby village had secreted some valuables in a bush on this hillside and these were burned up. The owner of the valuables claimed compensation for the goods; the defendant, having no means of his own or rich relatives to borrow from, was unable to pay, and he was thus forced to become the slave of the rich man or forfeit his life. The ultimate sanction in the legal system resided in the use of force, since public opinion would support the taking of a man's life if he refused to pay what was judged to be a proper claim.

The wealth emphasis in Northwestern California finds expression also in the legal status of the shaman or doctor who, here, unlike the tribes further south, was a woman. The shaman or curer—medicine woman if you will—acquired her power to heal the sick by the ability to extract small intrusive objects, which magically cause pain, from the body of her patient. For this service she was paid. If the cure was incomplete she came again, but for an additional fee for the second "house-call." The idea was held that some shamans deliberately failed to effect full recovery of the patient at the first treatment out of greed. If her patient died, the assumption was that she had tried her best and failed. Tribes to the southward, in Central and Southern California, might view the circumstance of one patient's death as bad luck, but a second failure to cure would lead to the suspicion that the medicine man had deliberately caused the patient's death. Driven by fear and supported by general public opinion, a group of men in the village would here band together and assassinate the unlucky shaman.[21] The different reactions in this connection between Northwest California groups and others to the south are revealing of a different outlook on life which is expressed in many ways. In Central California, for example, wealth was lavished upon the dead, as evidenced by the large quantities of shell beads, ornaments, tools, and weapons which occur as burial offerings, but among the Northwestern tribes this would be considered extravagance and only small amounts of property accompanied the dead, thus leaving the bulk of a man's estate to be inherited by his sons. The east Central and Southern ritual, known as the Annual Mourning Ceremony, was a yearly affair in which relatives of recently deceased persons sacrificed, in the name and memory of the dead, huge quantities of clothing, food, wealth items, and the like.[22] Such deliberate and ostentatious wasting of valuable goods would have seemed to a Northwestern California Indian like absolute madness.

Wars involving the fighting men of whole villages did not occur in Northwestern California. The cause for war was usually some injury or offense by a man in another town. If a claim was laid and compensation was not forthcoming, a group of the plaintiff's kinsmen would band together and launch an attack upon the defendant and his kinsmen. Although usually spoken of as war, these altercations are more in the nature of blood feuds, and everyone not related by blood or marriage to either party was careful to avoid being drawn into the affair lest, by some expression of partisanship, he acquire financial responsibility. Such feuds, even though at times involving fairly large numbers of persons on each side, might drag on in a desultory way for a long time, with an occasional ambush, capture of a woman, or burning of a house, but ultimately the whole matter would assume socially disruptive proportions and public opinion would make it clear that it was advisable to settle the matter. Intermediaries would arrange to meet and a complete roster of all damages incurred would be presented by each side. If negotiations were successful, each side paid the other for all damages inflicted. Thus the side which had the greatest success, that is, had killed or wounded the most persons, uttered the worst insults, burned the most houses, and so on, was forced to pay more. The Roman dictum, "woe to the vanquished," is not applicable here, but among the Yurok might well read, in a financial sense, "woe to the victors."

Among the Northwestern tribes, especially the Yurok of the lower Klamath River and their immediate neighbors, there were held a series of ceremonies, each different but all part of the whole, which has been called the World Renewal Cult.[23] In all, no fewer than a dozen separate rituals were given each year at specified times in a limited number of villages, these places being traditional, and the underlying motive or purpose of the performance being to renew or maintain the established world—to ensure a bountiful acorn crop, an abundance of salmon, and to prevent the occurrence of natural calamities such as pestilence, earthquakes, and floods. The two best known ceremonies are called the Jumping Dance and the White Deerskin Dance.[24] In each the songs, regalia, and dance steps differ, but both had one similar secondary purpose, which was the opportunity for men of substance to exhibit publicly their wealth goods. Participants assembled from neighboring tribes to show their treasures of woodpecker scalp headbands, large obsidian knives, white deersksin, strings of dentalium shell beads, and the like. Thus once again the Northwestern fixation on wealth manifests itself in the sacred rituals which, if not performed, might mean the end of the earth and man, but were also used as the vehicle for self-aggrandizement.

Northwestern California Indians ate acorns which they cooked in baskets by dropping in heated stones to bring the liquid to a boil. Deer, elk, salmon, and berries were also important food items. Their diet combines fish and acorns, the main staple foods known further north on the Northwest Coast and south in Central and Southern California. The Yurok tribe is a nation of individualists—there are no chiefs, clans, or other formal organizations of society. What pass for chiefs are rich men who surround themselves with a body of relatives. The village is composed of several such kinship groups, each person responsible only to his blood relatives and to no others.

Central California, as a culture region, comprises about fifty per cent of the area of the state, and contained altogether eighteen major tribes, among whom were some of the most populous in all the state. The internal consistency of the Northwestern culture area here is not paralleled, for there is practically endless variety of types of ritual, form of tools and weapons, means of gaining a livelihood, and the like. The Central area is more fully usable, food is abundant and varied, and long-term localization of tribes in coastal, valley, or foothill districts has had the effect of encouraging local specialization. Where boats are used they are usually a cigar-shaped raft composed of bundles of rushes, holding one or two men, and employed for river and lake fishing or as a means of crossing a river.[25] Travel is by foot, trade relations between coast, valley, and mountain areas permitted acquisition of desirable items from long distances by intertribal trade,[26] and the tribes were notably sedentary, each group clinging tenaciously to its traditional village site generation after generation. It is, in part, the unobtrusiveness or absence of sharply definable traits which marks the cultures of the several Central California tribes as having a unity or coherence.

The hearth or focus of culture lies among the Pomo tribe who centered around Clear Lake[27] and the Patwin whose home was the southern half of the Sacramento Valley west of the Sacramento River.[28] Here, with the valley parkland producing greater quantities of acorns than could be gathered, with vast seed-bearing grasslands, rivers or lakes to fish in, and with deer, elk, and waterfowl in abundance, the Indians had no real food problem. The recollections of old Indians who lived here in the days before the white man took over do not contain references to hunger or famine—if one resource failed there were always others to fall back upon.

Central California political organization was based on what has been termed the "village community" or "tribelet."[29] The tribelet consisted of several villages, from three or four up to fifteen or thirty, which acknowledged the leadership of a chief who lived in the principal village. These groupings of villages, which in the Central California culture area seem to have contained a total of about 100 to 500 and averaged about 250 persons, usually held a territory of about 200 to 300 square miles. This land they held in exclusive ownership, and unauthorized trespass automatically led to opposition of the outsiders by force. All persons belonging to the tribelet felt a sense of both political and territorial unity and in addition, of course, shared the same dialect. Neighboring tribelets might share the same dialect, but if the tribe were a large one speech forms would be rather different at the territorial extremes of the tribal area. The larger tribal unit consisted of a number of component tribelets, and within the larger unit, which was primarily a linguistic entity, there was a feeling of national cohesion—a sense that other people of one's own particular kind, even though they be known mainly by report rather than by first hand acquaintance, lived in this wider area. Among most California Indians, a man stayed at home and took care of his own affairs, sometimes visiting neighboring villages of his tribelet, and more rarely traveling to other tribelets for some special purpose, such as a trading expedition or to attend a ceremonial performance. Of adjoining tribes he had some knowledge, largely second hand, and the chances were excellent that his people were at times engaged in war with them, and their territory was automatically to be avoided. Central California warfare was often intratribal, and was commonly caused by friction between two adjoining tribelets over boundary trespass.[30] Such petty conflicts over poaching, in which rarely more than one or two men were wounded or killed, were very common, and their ultimate cause may be suggested as due to population pressure. When food is low and one's own land is empty, the risk of fighting may be worth taking to sneak across the boundary to hunt deer or to gather seeds.

The main dietary staple of Central California was the acorn, and this item was supplemented by hunting, berry-picking, root-digging, fishing, and grass seed collecting. Material culture items such as tools and weapons were simple and unornate. Showy feather costumes and fancy headdresses worn during ritual performances are especially characteristic of Central California. The Pomo, Wintun, and Maidu form a solid belt of tribes extending from the ocean east to the crest of the Sierra Nevada, and among these tribes occurs in most elaborate form the major religious system of Central California—the Kuksu Cult.[31] Cult membership is limited to persons who have been initiated and instructed in its esoteric rites. The performers are costumed with elaborate feather headbands and brightly colored feather plumes. The disguised dancers represent spirits of deities, and it is this god-impersonating element that distinguishes the Kuksu Cult from others in native California.[32] The ceremonies are held in the winter, inside the large, round, earth-covered lodge which may run to 60 feet in diameter.[33] The earth-lodge is partly underground, the roof being raised on posts over an excavation 3 to 4 feet deep. Toward the rear of the dance house is a large, hollowed wooden slab 8 or 10 feet long set flush with the floor over a pit. This is the plank drum or foot drum on which a special drummer stamps with his feet to sound out a rhythm for the performers as they sing and dance.

Dwelling types vary in the Central culture area. In the valley areas a half-underground, earth-covered house was used, and such a house, if kept in repair, might serve for two or three generations. In the mountain areas of the Coast Range and the Sierra a conical lean-to, made of long slabs of bark, was used. Above 4000 feet elevation there was no permanent settlement, and the higher mountain areas were used in the summer. Enough food could be secured to enable small, widely-dispersed groups to survive in the summer season, and it is known that the Indians looked upon these summer trips to the High Sierra as vacations from the ordinary routine of life in the hot valleys where their main villages lay.[34]

Special rituals whose presence is restricted to one or two tribes are also to be noted for Central California. Thus the Yuki of Mendocino County initiate a boy into manhood with a ritual in which a long, chipped obsidian knife is shoved down the boy's throat to cause bleeding. The Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley observed a springtime ritual which they called "stepping on," and which ethnologists have descriptively named the Rattlesnake Ceremony. Medicine men caught numbers of rattlesnakes, demonstrated their supernaturally acquired immunity by handling the deadly reptiles in a public showing, and then conducted a ritual intended to endow protection from snakebite not only to the public at large but also to certain individuals whom the shamans singled out as subject to snakebite during the coming year. The Maidu, mentioned earlier as occupying the northern Sierra Nevada, are reported to have taken war prisoners, tied them to the centerpole of the dance house, and shot them to death with arrows.

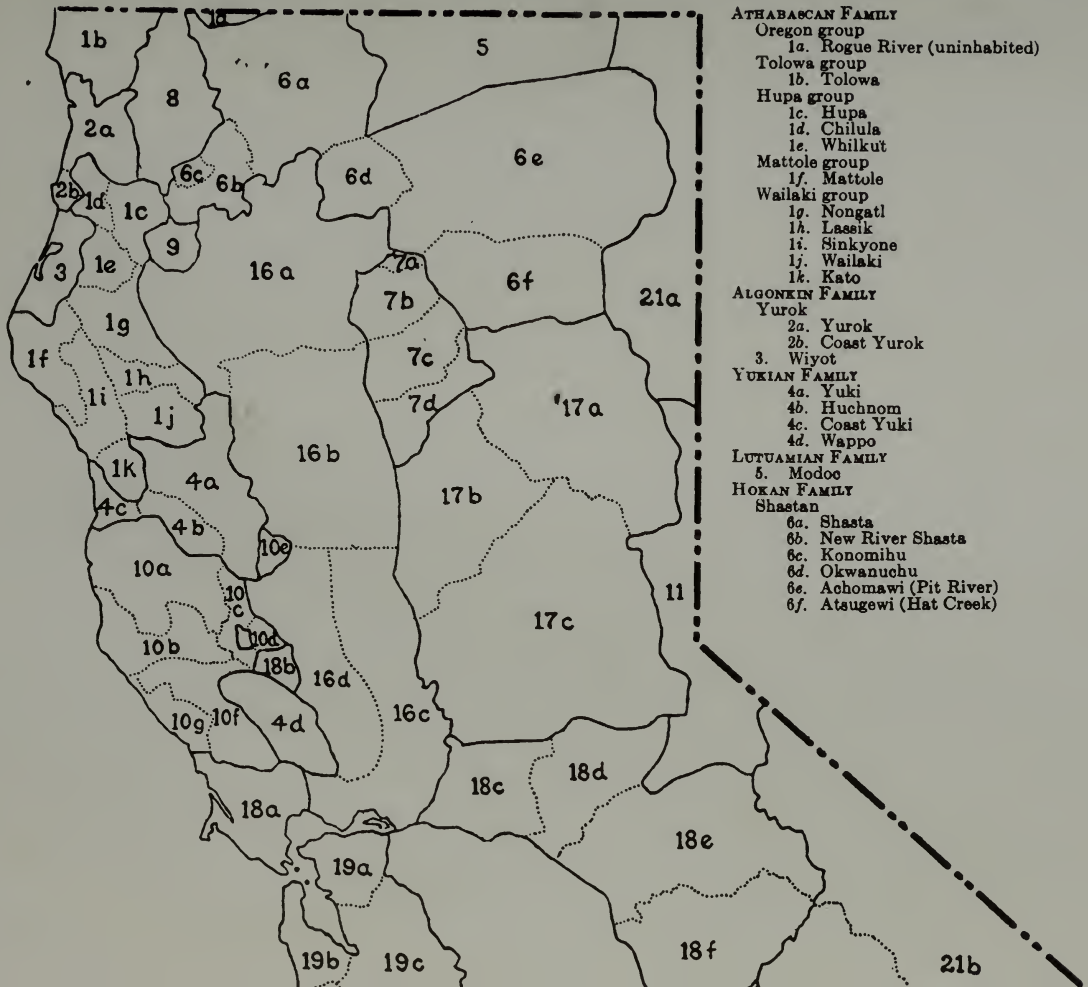
The Southern California culture area comprises the southwestern portion of the state and contains about twenty tribes. The climax of culture clearly falls among the Chumash and Gabrieleño in the Santa Barbara-Los Angeles region. The Chumash were a maritime people, occupying the ocean front and offshore Channel Islands. In 1769 the Spaniards counted over one thousand persons in some Chumash towns, and settlements of this size were probably to be seen elsewhere in California only along the middle Sacramento River and in the southern San Joaquin Valley.[35] The Chumash supported their large population primarily on fish and mollusks, with some acorns, seeds, and deer. Exploitation of the ocean and adequate contact with the offshore islands was possible by reason of the unique canoe which the Chumash possessed. The canoe was made of numerous small wooden planks lashed together with cords passed through drilled holes and calked over with asphalt.[36] The Gabrieleño, so named because this tribe was brought into Mission San Gabriel, stand out as the originators of the jimsonweed or toloache cult. This religion, which honors one all-powerful deity named Chingichnich,[37] was followed by the Chumash, and spread north to the Yokuts of the southern San Joaquin Valley and south along the coast among the several tribes to about San Diego. The cult is complex, its central feature is the drinking of an infusion of the narcotic jimsonweed plant by young boys, who then experience visions wherein animals appear to them. Long, moralistic lectures are addressed to the neophytes by priests in front of an "altar" consisting of a circular sand-painting made of colored earth 12 to 18 feet in diameter representing the world encircled by the sky or Milky Way, and within which are depicted geographical features, constellations, mythological animals and snakes, and the like. These sermons contain admonishments to respect one's elders, to maintain a good disposition, to be generous, and so on, and as these advices are given the messengers of Chingichnich, like the spider, mountain lion, or rattlesnake, who will punish the infraction of these rules, are pointed out in the sand-painting.

The ritual costumes of Southern California are simple and somber—they quite lack the gay colors and fancywork of the Central California Kuksu costumes or the showy dance regalia displayed in the Northwest California World Renewal dances. It would seem that the nature of the deity Chingichnich was such that he was too lofty to be impersonated, and that the simplicity of ritual costume is a reflex of this attitude. The powerful psychic effect of the narcotic toloache or jimsonweed plant appears to be the cause for the cult taking on what Dr. Kroeber has called "a specifically inward character." In the rituals and myths there is constant reference to the human spirit or soul, to mystical concepts, strong symbolism of death, and the like, but these are not expressed either in the dance or by the costumes worn by the participants. The dancers here pantomime the actions of the god, but do not pretend to be the god himself.

Along the Colorado River lived the tall, warlike, farming tribes named the Yuma and Mohave.[38] These river tribes think of themselves primarily as national entities, much as we do, and unlike most other California Indians whose primary political and social reference was to their village or tribelet. The Mohave and Yuma think of their land as a country, not as an area containing small but important settlements. And it is this feeling of being part of a nation rather than identifying one's self as an occupant of a particular village that apparently has led to the abandonment of the usual California Indian concern with feuds of locality or revenge based upon obligation to related kin, and has fostered the development of a true national military spirit under which the tribe acted as a single unit in aggressive warfare as well as defensive enterprises. Above all other virtues, courage was prized by the river tribes, and a man's most glorious moment came when engaged in mortal combat with the enemy.[39] The Pima, Papago, and Maricopa tribes of western and southern Arizona were traditional enemies of the Yuma and Mohave, and to reach them a war party would travel up to fifteen days to a particular settlement which they intended to attack. There was strong desire to capture girls and young women on war expeditions. Such captives were not molested, and before the war party's return had to have a ceremony made over them to prevent their bringing sickness into the land. They were sometimes married, though more often not, and were given work to do in return for food or were assigned a plot of land to cultivate. The economy was too simple to exploit these women as slaves, and it seems that the real reason for keeping such captives was to display them as visible symbols of superiority over other tribes.[40] Warfare, by itself, had a strong mystical value attached to its pursuit, and success in war enhanced the spiritual power of the whole tribe.

In view of the modern preoccupation with war, it may be diverting to analyze the specific nature of the war complex of one of the Colorado River tribes, the Mohave. First, Mohave warfare seems to have little

NATIVE TRIBES, GROUPS, DIALECTS, AND FAMILIES OF CALIFORNIA IN 1770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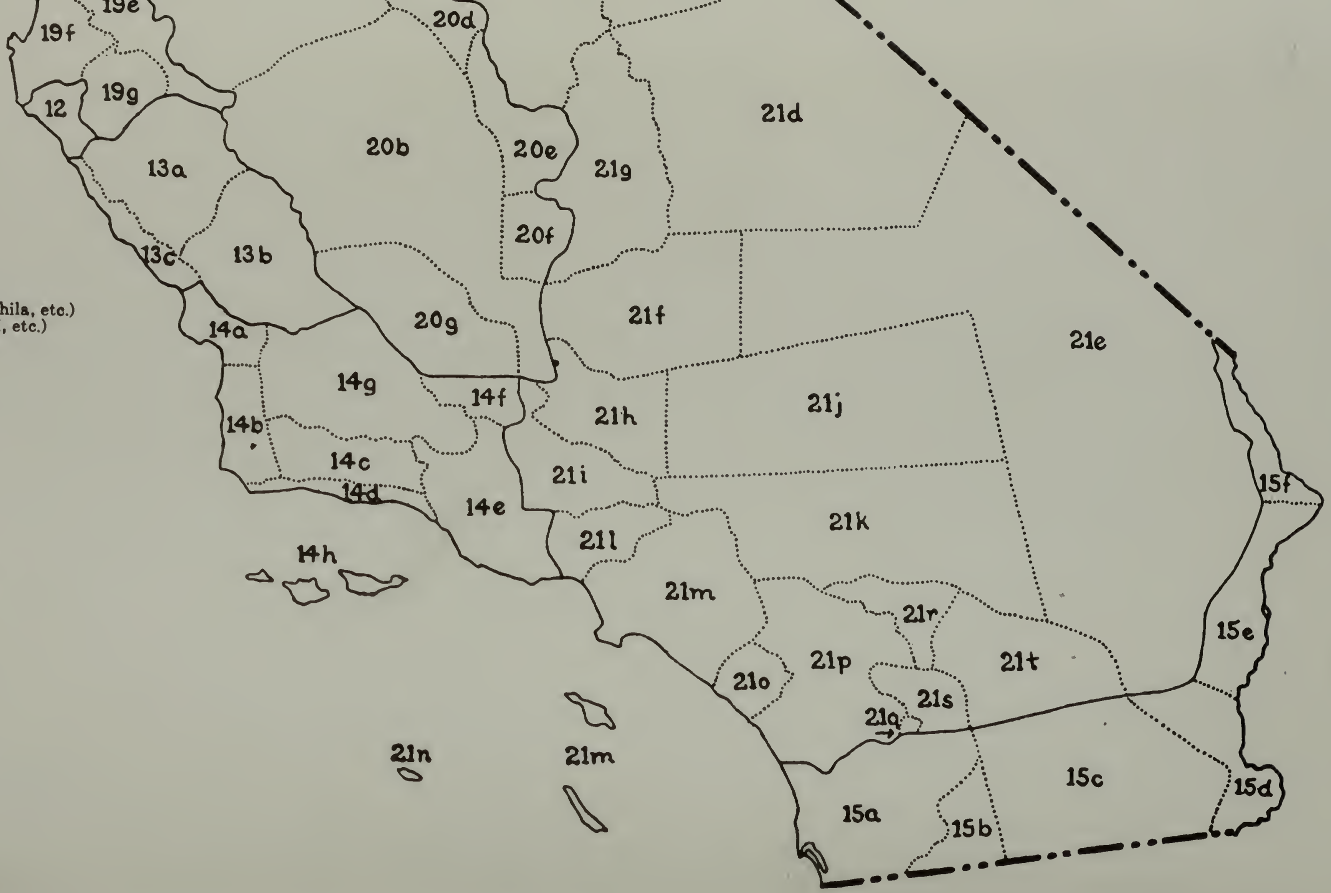
- Athabascan Family
  - Oregon group
    - 1*a*. Rogue River (uninhabited)
  - Tolowa group
    - 1*b*. Tolowa
  - Hupa group
    - 1*c*. Hupa
    - 1*d*. Chilula
    - 1*e*. Whilkut
  - Mattole group
    - 1*f*. Mattole
  - Wailaki group
    - 1*g*. Nongatl
    - 1*h*. Lassik
    - 1*i*. Sinkyone
    - 1*j*. Wailaki
    - 1*k*. Kato
- Algonkin Family
  - Yurok
    - 2*a*. Yurok
    - 2*b*. Coast Yurok
  - 3. Wiyot
- Yukian Family
  - 4*a*. Yuki
  - 4*b*. Huchnom
  - 4*c*. Coast Yuki
  - 4*d*. Wappo
- Lutuamian Family
  - 5. Modoc
- Hokan Family
  - Shastan
    - 6*a*. Shasta
    - 6*b*. New River Shasta
    - 6*c*. Konomihu
    - 6*d*. Okwanuchu
    - 6*e*. Achomawi (Pit River)
    - 6*f*. Atsugewi (Hat Creek)
  - Yana
    - 7*a*. Northern Yana (Noze)
    - 7*b*. Central Yana (Noze)
    - 7*c*. Southern Yana
    - 7*d*. Yahi
  - 8. Karok
  - 9. Chimariko
  - Pomo
    - 10*a*. Northern
    - 10*b*. Central
    - 10*c*. Eastern
    - 10*d*. Southeastern
    - 10*e*. Northeastern
    - 10*f*. Southern
    - 10*g*. Southwestern
  - 11. Washo
  - 12. Esselen
  - Salinan
    - 13*a*. Antoniano
    - 13*b*. Migueleño
    - 13*c*. Playano (doubtful)
  - Chumash
    - 14*a*. Obispeño
    - 14*b*. Purisimeño
    - 14*c*. Ynezeño
    - 14*d*. Barbareño
    - 14*e*. Ventureño
    - 14*f*. Emigdiano
    - 14*g*. Interior (doubtful)
    - 14*h*. Island
  - Yuman
    - 15*a*. Northern (Western) Diegueño
    - 15*b*. Southern (Eastern) Diegueño
    - 15*c*. Kamia
    - 15*d*. Yuma
    - 15*e*. Halchidhoma (now Chemehuevi)
    - 15*f*. Mohave
- Penutian Family
  - Wintun
    - *Dialect groups:*
    - 16*a*. Northern
    - 16*b*. Central (Nomlaki)
    - 16*c*. Southeastern (Patwin)
    - 16*d*. Southwestern (Patwin)
  - Maidu
    - *Dialect groups:*
    - 17*a*. Northeastern
    - 17*b*. Northwestern
    - 17*c*. Southern (Nisenan)
  - Miwok
    - 18*a*. Coast
    - 18*b*. Lake
    - 18*c*. Plains
    - 18*d*. Northern
    - 18*e*. Central
    - 18*f*. Southern

Costanoan
    19*a*. Saklan (doubtful)
    19*b*. San Francisco
    19*c*. Santa Clara
    19*d*. Santa Cruz
    19*e*. San Juan Bautista (Mutsun)
    19*f*. Monterey (Rumsen)
    19*g*. Soledad
Yokuts
    Dialect groups:
    20*a*. Northern Valley (Chulamni, Chauchila, etc.)
    20*b*. Southern Valley (Tachi, Yauelmani, etc.)
    20*c*. Northern Hill (Chukchansi, etc.
    20*d*. Kings River (Choinimni, etc.)
    20*e*. Tule-Kaweah (Yaudanchi, etc.)
    20*f*. Poso Creek (Paleuyami)
    20*g*. Buena Vista (Tulamni, etc.)
UTO-AZTEKAN (SHOSHONEAN) FAMILY
  Plateau branch
    Mono-Bannock group:
    21*a*. Northern Paiute (Paviotso)
    21*b*. Eastern Mono (Paiute)
    21*c*. Western Mono
    Shoshoni-Comanche group:
    21*d*. Koso (Panamint, Shoshone)
    Ute-Chemehuevi group:
    21*e*. Chemehuevi (Southern Paiute)
    21*f*. Kawaiisu (Tehachapi)
  Kern River branch
    21*g*. Tūbatulabal (and Bankalachi)
  Southern California branch
    Serrano group:
    21*h*. Kitanemuk (Tejon)
    21*i*. Alliklik
    21*j*. Vanyume (Mōhineyam)
    21*k*. Serrano
    Gabrielino group:
    21*l*. Fernandeño
    21*m*. Gabrielino
    21*n*. Nicoleño
    Luiseño-Cahuilla group:
    21*o*. Juaneño
    21*p*. Luiseño
    21*q*. Cupeño
    21*r*. Pass Cahuilla
    21*s*. Mountain Cahuilla
    21*t*. Desert Cahuilla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unity, but appears to be a blend of the ill-defined feuding type of war of the California Indians to the north and the organized militarism of the Plains tribes; it partakes of both but is neither wholly one nor the other. Although deriving support from the tribal group, war is prosecuted by the special warrior class comprising men who begin to dream when they are boys that they have been bestowed war-power. This group forms a special status body which abstains from the normal life-pattern of the tribe. The warrior class, called *kwanami*, though set apart, finds few rewards—not here the special subsistence and housing allowances for the military. There is apparently no economic inducement to engage in war, but rather a compulsion which a man cannot deny. One wonders why, to paraphrase a saying usually attributed to virtue, war is its own reward. War is an organized affair—there is a leader, the war party is ranked according to duties as scouts, fighting men, and the like; there are special wardress, standards, standard bearers, and scalpers. But all of this careful division of responsibility comes to naught when the battle is joined, for then confusion reigns, the leader's commands are ignored as are scouts' reports, and it is every man for himself. The basic purpose of war is not conquest, for the Mohave have more land than they are able to exploit. War honors are few, and those that exist are scarcely worth the risk of one's life. Nor does reward await the returning victors, for when they are once again among their own people they resume at once their Spartan-like existence, and this ascetic program is observed during their fighting life. Even the idea of mutual responsibility in the sense of helping a companion-in-arms when he is in danger or ill or wounded is nearly lacking, and this situation seems anomalous in an organized military group. Taken all in all, Mohave warfare, though technically more developed than that of other California Indians, seems less purposeful than the usual California natives' resort to arms to repel food poachers or to avenge a killing by a group of men of a neighboring tribe, or of one or several defenseless women caught while picking berries or collecting acorns. Mohave warfare looks like a transference, a secondary drive so to speak, which has been developed to replace some primary activity whose identity and existence is so ancient that it has long been forgotten.

The Yuma and Mohave tribes of the Colorado River are the only peoples of the state which depended wholly upon farming for their livelihood.[41] Their main crops were corn, beans, and pumpkins. Houses were made of willows, sometimes plastered over with mud. Excellent pottery, in which food was stored and cooked, was made.[42] Their technology was simple, and tools were unornate. The Mohave acted as middlemen in a system of ancient trade by which cotton blankets and stone axes made by the Pueblo peoples of Arizona were exchanged for Pacific coast shells.[43] The Mohave made trading expeditions to San Diego, San Gabriel, Santa Barbara, and Bakersfield, and certainly this tribe ranks as the most widely traveled in the state. Garcés, in 1776 came from the Colorado River to the San Joaquin Valley with a Mohave trading group.

The Colorado River tribes adhere to the curious idea that the basis of all experience in life lies in dreams. The insistence of this belief is equivalent to that of the Yurok of Northwestern California in their conclusion that the unvarying and persistent pursuit of wealth will bring economic success. Among the Mohave, shamanistic power, myths, songs, bravery in war, good fortune in battle, success in gambling, farming, and love-making, and so on through every special ability—all these faculties are dreamed. Knowledge comes not by experience or learning, but is something acquired in dreams.[44] This strange attitude, which reads life as something highly personalized and which comes through, or is attributed to, the imagery of the dream experience, is unique to the Colorado River Indians. Every man dreamed, and the Mohave speak of the process of dreaming as the recollection of experience of his *matkwesa* or spirit which wandered while his body slept. If a man dreamed that he was aquiring power to cure illness, he would describe, in story interspersed with song and with infinite detail, the journey of his spirit to *Avikwame*, the sacred mountain where man was created, and his talk with *Mastamho*, the culture hero. Content of these dream experiences are communicated to others by songs, of which there are known among the Mohave about thirty separate series or cycles, each cycle containing from 100 to 200 to over 400 separate songs. A myth recital interspersed with songs might take two whole nights, or perhaps six, to run through, so long and detailed is the content of a single song cycle. The song cycles largely take the place of dances and public ceremonies among these river tribes of southeastern California. There is here no enactment of events, as in the Kuksu Cult performance which is a dramatic production. The Colorado River dream song-myth is communicated essentially as a narrative. The Northwest California tribes, with their wealth-displaying World Renewal dances, are something different again—their public dances are essentially formalized fashion shows put on by wealthy and prestigeful persons.

The Northeastern California area, occupied by the Modoc and Achomawi[45] tribes, is one where a simple level of culture prevailed. Population was thin, the country not very productive, and people spent most of their time hunting, root-digging, and seed-gathering. The underground house of the general type known in Central California was used. There were no big rituals or ceremonials performed by these tribes—such luxuries could be practiced only where there was more free time and a surplus of food to enable groups of people to come together.

The Great Basin culture area which takes in the eastern border of the state and the eastern desert of Southern California is occupied by tribes which, for the most part, are related in speech and origin to the desert peoples of Nevada and Utah.[46] The apparently barren desert will yield a living, however scanty, to the Indian who knows the secrets of how to find water and how to convert an apparently unpalatable cactus into an edible dish.[47] Small game such as rats and rabbits were collected, and although starvation was ever threatening and famines were not infrequent, life was still possible. These tribes, with their desert-accommodated culture, had few belongings since their way of life required constant roaming, and what they possessed they carried with them wherever they went. A family would have its clothing, made of rabbit skins, a few baskets, bows and arrows, rabbit-catching net, and little else. Where the majority of California Indians were generally well off, and in some areas unusually favored as regards food, the desert areas were characterized by want and poverty and hunger—indeed, no American Indians were less materialistic and displayed a simpler culture than is found in the Great Basin area.[48]

Beyond the points in time where native recollection and written historical documents of explorers carry us, we are forced to rely upon the less complete, impersonal information which the archaeologist recovers from excavations in the spots where there once stood Indian villages.[49] These sites are usually marked by somewhat darker colored earth as a result of concentration of charcoal from ancient fires, and the soils of such sites contain a variety of evidence of man's former presence in the form of food remains such as mollusk shells or animal bones, lost or discarded implements and weapons, incidental objects as part of the trash accumulation resulting from day-after-day living, and often graves containing burials and objects accompanying the deceased. When a site occupies an especially favorable position with regard to food supply, drainage, or drinking water, it may, upon investigation by the archaeologist, be found to have been occupied for many centuries by a succession of peoples. As the archaeologist digs down into the earth from the surface, he is digging backward through time since the uppermost levels are the latest and the deepest levels are the oldest.[50] The materials recovered will usually be unmodified bones of food animals, ornaments, tools and weapons made of stone, bone, shell, clay, and the contents of graves. With these fragmentary clues to the life of the ancient peoples the archaeologist can often recreate some details of the prehistoric past.

In Northern California the oldest occupation sites thus far discovered have a maximum estimated antiquity of 1000 to 1500 years.[51] The type of culture represented in the lowest levels of deep trash deposits is sufficiently like that of the historic tribes to enable us to propose that these older cultural remains mark the presence of the lineal ancestors of the recent tribes. Evidence of occupation by still earlier groups has thus far not been found, and presently available information suggests that the northwestern corner of the state was not occupied by Indians until most of the rest of the state had filled up.

In Central California there are strong hints of the presence of man about 8000 or 9000 years ago. One of these hints is a long string of shell beads made from a species native to the coast of Central California and found in a dry cave deposit in Nevada.[52] The age of the beads is about 9000 years, and from them we infer the existence in Central California, some three hundred miles to the west, of peoples who were gathering marine shells, fashioning them into beads, and passing them on by intergroup barter until they reached central Nevada. These California bead makers of 7000 B.C. we cannot now identify, but we are convinced that their evidences exist and will in future be found.[53]

In the lower Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley area where the two great rivers flow out over the flat sediments in the Delta region, a series of occupation and burial sites which date from before 2000 B.C. have been studied by workers of the University of California.[54] The authors of this culture, called the Early Horizon, were much concerned with the ritual surrounding death and burial. The almost invariable posture of the corpse was fully extended and lying prone—that is, on the face with the stomach or ventral side down, and with the head pointed to the west. Nearly all graves contain items such as shell beads, shell ornaments, weapon points of stone, and so on, and it is clear that the graves of all persons who were properly buried contained a quantity of useful items which probably included contributions from friends and relatives.

About 1500 B.C. the Early Horizon people who buried the dead at full length are succeeded by another group whose burial practices are different. These are the people of the Middle Horizon.[55] Cremation is fairly common now, and the position of skeletons in graves is now flexed—that is, contracted with the knees drawn up to the chest and the arms folded against the chest. Material possessions now, unlike the custom in the earlier period, were saved by the heirs and not sacrificed to the dead as offerings—we may accordingly suppose that a fairly strong wealth emphasis was current in this culture. Bones of skeletons frequently contain imbedded stone arrowpoints or spearpoints, which may be taken as clear proof that the individual died a violent death from a thrust spear or cast projectile weapon. These instances are sufficiently frequent to permit the general statement that warfare was common. By contrast, the earlier peoples in the same area were peaceful and unwarlike.

The third and last culture of Central California revealed by the archaeologist's spade has an antiquity of about 1500 years—it began about 500 A.D. and endured until the Indian culture was destroyed by the Spanish, Mexican, and American occupation. It is named the Late Horizon. Cremation of the dead is common, and the flexed or contracted primary burial continues in practice. Wide-ranging trade relations are evident,[56] and the culture revealed is clearly that fashioned by the direct ancestors of the recent Indian tribes of Central California.

In Southern California several local cultural sequences are now fairly well understood. In the Santa Barbara region a series of three cultures rather like those of Central California is known on the mainland.[57] The northerly Channel Islands, at least, lack the earliest culture, and exhibit the middle and late period cultures. Settlement of the islands may have had to wait both until population pressure on the mainland encouraged migration of surplus numbers and availability of a seaworthy boat which permitted safe transit of the twenty mile channel passage.

In the interior desert area of Southern California, the oldest evidence of man may be the chipped stone weapon points, knives, and scrapers which occur on the elevated beaches of ancient freshwater lakes which held water toward the end of the Pleistocene period or Ice Age.[58] It is, unfortunately, most difficult to prove that the stone tools are contemporaneous with the age of the ancient lake when its level stood at that point, and opinions differ also as to whether the implements should be dated at 2000 or 8000 or 15,000 years old.[59] Even within the present century these ancient lake basins have filled occasionally from the runoff of an unusually heavy rain in this normally desert area. In 1938, for example, there formed in the bed of ancient Lake Mohave in a thirteen-day period a body of water sixteen miles long, three miles wide, and ten feet deep. In prehistoric times, i.e., up to 200 years ago, such a lake in the desert would have attracted temporary settlement, and this would have resulted in the leaving of tools and implements. The possibility of old and young cultural materials lying mixed together on the surface is one of the problems which is presented in attempting to date such desert sites.

In all of the prehistoric archaeology of California there is nothing really startling or unique—its mysteries are simple ones which concern dating or degree of relationship of one culture to another.[60] Except for local differences, all California archaeology is much the same, and we can conclude from this that the state has been occupied for a hundred centuries, more or less, by Indian groups who lived pretty much like the recent tribes when first seen by the Spaniards.

The conception of California Indians as a culturally degraded population dates from the nineteenth century when the simple-cultured natives were unfavorably compared with the "noble savages" of the Eastern Woodlands, the vigorous tribes of the Great Plains, or the exotic islanders of the South Seas. The term "Digger" was applied generally to California Indians through observing them digging with pointed sticks for edible bulbs or roots—surely no people should be condemned for eating parts of plants which grow beneath the ground, but in contrast to buffalo-hunting tribes or farming natives the California Indians seemed, to the early American explorers and settlers, little better than animals. That their cultural accomplishments did not generally include the raising of crops or making of beautiful pottery does not mean that the California natives were degraded examples of humanity—indeed finely woven, decorated baskets which were aesthetically and technologically equal to the best native American pottery were characteristic of California,[61] and if California, with its bountiful supply of wild foods (seeds, acorns, fish, and game) could support more people than an area where buffalo hunting or farming was practiced, there is scarcely room here for censuring the native peoples for recognizing and taking advantage of the fact. This point does not need to be labored, and the reader can judge for himself from the preceding pages whether he shall accept the last century view or that of the modern researcher.

The study of the California Indian as he was in pre-white times—how he derived his livelihood from the tidal waters, rivers, valleys, mountains, and deserts; what types of houses he built; the nature of his religious ideas, ceremonies, and customs; the variety and antiquity of prehistoric culture phases—all of these and more do seem important to us today. The Indian was a part of the land and life of California for a span of at least 7000 and possibly 12,000 or 15,000 years.[62] And by virtue of original possession and long-continued use, the Indian is as much an element of the natural background of modern California as the forests, lakes, mountains, wild life, and climate. The heritage of former Indian occupancy finds external expression in the Indian names for thirteen of California's fifty-eight counties, in the twenty-one Franciscan missions founded and operated for the conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith,[63] in the tens of thousands of spots where one may observe evidence of former Indian occupancy in the form of acorn mortar holes in rocks, arrowheads lying on the surface of ancient campsites, buried skeletons found today in earth-moving activities which attend present-day industrial, urban, or rural improvements,[64] and in the names of some of our best known scenic spots, such as Mt. Shasta, Yosemite Park, Lake Tahoe, and the Mohave Desert.[65] These palpable and verbal reminders of California's Indian past will endure—they are part of our heritage. As time passes into the next century and as the last surviving remnants of Indian culture give way to the customs of the white man and the remaining stratified prehistoric sites are leveled for farmland or roadfill, a better educated public may regret the materialistic short-sightedness of the twentieth century for failing to learn, when there was still opportunity, everything possible about the still living and long dead Indian cultures.

NOTES

1. No positively identifiable objects secured by the Indians from Cabrillo have thus far been recovered. For the record of Cabrillo's voyage, as well as of other sixteenth century explorers of the Pacific coast north of Mexico, see Henry R. Wagner, "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Special Publ. No. 4* (San Francisco, 1929).

2. Indian words heard and written down occur in the account of Francis Fletcher, the expedition's chaplain, and in the little-known brief record made by Richard Madox, chaplain of William Fenton's ship, in 1582. For a listing of these and demonstration that these words are in the Coast Miwok language, see Robert F. Heizer and William W. Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in the Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XI:2 (1942), 213-217. See also Heizer, "Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, 42:3 (Berkeley, 1947), 251-302.

3. For a review of these opinions written nearly two decades after the question was revived by the finding of Drake's Plate of Brass, see Allen Chickering and R. F. Heizer in "Introduction," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Special Publ. No. 25* (1953), i-vi. To the list of theories cited there one could now add a dozen more examples.

4. The original discovery is treated in Heizer, "Archaeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño's Visit in 1595," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XX:4 (1942), 315-328. Since the end of the war more excavation has been carried out with the main result of amplifying the earlier findings. Nothing of undoubted sixteenth century English manufacture, which could be argued as having been brought and left at Drake's Bay by Francis Drake has come to light. Assuming that we are correct in attributing the Chinese porcelain and iron spikes to Cermeño's expedition of 1595, the only items which have been recovered and which might have been secured from an outland visitor before 1595 by the Indians of Drake's Bay, are a number of fragments of heavy brown-glazed crockery from an Indian shellmound on Drake's Estero. The large crockery jar is of Chinese origin, and it is therefore not possible to attribute it to the agency of any single expedition. It is even possible that the jar was recovered from a derelict junk. For details of the finding of the crockery fragments, see Clement W. Meighan and R. F. Heizer, "Archaeological Exploration of Sixteenth Century Indian Mounds at Drake's

Bay," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly,* XXXI:2 (1952). On derelict ships sighted in the Pacific or thrown up on the American shore, see C. W. Brooks, "Report of Japanese Vessels Wrecked in the North Pacific Ocean from the Earliest Records to the Present Time," *Proc. Calif. Acad. Science,* VI (San Francisco, 1876), 50-66; John F. G. Stokes, "Japanese Cultural Influences in Hawaii," *Proc. Fifth Pacific Science Congress,* II (Toronto, 1934), 2791-2803.

5. The one standard source which systematically treats each of the Californian tribes is Alfred L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull.* 78 (Washington, 1925). This work was reprinted in 1953 by the California Book Co., Berkeley. A book which attempts general coverage is by R. F. Heizer and Mary Ann Whipple, eds., *The California Indians* (Berkeley, Univ. Calif. Press, 1955)

6. Edward W. Gifford, "Californian Anthropometry," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.,* 22:2 (Berkeley, 1926), 223-390.

7. For population densities of California Indian tribes in 1770 and 1910, see Heizer and Whipple, note 5 above, 68-81. For a comparison of Indian population density in 1770 and American density in 1950, see Heizer, "California Population Densities, 1770 and 1950," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey, Report No. 50, Paper 79* (Berkeley, 1960), 9-12.

8. For tribal populations and densities for North America, see Kroeber, "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.,* 38 (Berkeley, 1939).

9. Kroeber, "Culture Element Distributions: III, Area and Climax," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.,* 37:3 (Berkeley, 1936), 101-116.

10. For an excellent summary of the tribes and cultures of this region, see Philip Drucker, "Indians of the Northwest Coast," *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. Handbook No. 10* (New York, 1955).

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12. On the Hupa see Pliny E. Goddard, "Life and Culture of the Hupa," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.,* 1:1 (Berkeley, 1903).

13. On the ritual dances of the Klamath River tribes see Kroeber and Gifford, "World Renewal," *Univ. Calif. Anthrop. Records,* 13:1 (Berkeley, 1949).

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23. See note 13 above.

24. W. W. Goldschmidt and Harold E. Driver, "The Hupa White Deerskin Dance," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, 35:8 (Berkeley, 1940).

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26. A careful study of aboriginal trade and trade routes used by California Indians is by James T. Davis, "Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey Report No. 54* (Berkeley, 1961).

27. An excellent survey with an extensive bibliography of Pomo culture is by Samuel A. Barrett, "Material Aspects of Pomo Culture," *Bull. Milwaukee Public Museum*, 20 (Milwaukee, 1952).

28. The Patwin tribe is treated by Kroeber, "The Patwin and Their Neighbors," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, 29:4 (Berkeley, 1932).

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31. A summary of the Kuksu Cult among the tribes of Central California may

be found in Kroeber's monograph on the Patwin tribe, see note 28 above, 396-420. This summary is reprinted in Heizer and Whipple, see note 5 above, 412-422.

32. For illustrations of costumed dancers, see C. Hart Merriam, "Studies of California Indians," Univ. Calif. Press (Berkeley, 1955), pls. 1-16.

33. For illustrations of a number of these large structures, see Merriam, *op. cit.* in note 32 above, pls. 38-46.

34. Seasonal use of the High Sierra is discussed in detail by Albert B. Elsasser, "Aboriginal Use of Restrictive Sierran Environments," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey, Report No. 41, Paper 67* (Berkeley, 1958), 27-33.

35. For size of larger villages see Heizer, "Prehistoric Central California: a Problem in Historical-Developmental Classification," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey, Report No. 41, Paper 66* (Berkeley, 1958), 13-19.

36. The unique plank canoe is described in Heizer, "The Plank Canoe of the Santa Barbara Region, California," *Ethnol. Studies*, No. 7 (Gothenburg, 1938), 193-227. See also Heizer and Massey, *op. cit.* in note 25 above. An excellent survey of Pacific coast boat types is by Bill Durham, *Canoes and Kayaks of Western America* (Seattle, Copper Canoe Press, 1960).

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41. E. W. Castetter and W. H. Bell, *Yuman Indian Agriculture* (Albuquerque, Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1951).

42. A. L. Kroeber and Michael J. Harner, "Mohave Pottery," *Univ. Calif. Anthrop. Records*, 16:1 (Berkeley, 1955).

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44. Kroeber, "Seven Mohave Myths," *Univ. Calif. Anthrop. Records*, 11-1 (Berkeley, 1948).

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47. David P. Barrows, *The Ethno-Botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Chicago, 1900). Portions of this work are reprinted in Heizer and Whipple, *op. cit.* in note 5 above, 242-250.

48. For characterization of the aboriginal tribal groups and cultures of the Great Basin, see Steward, "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," *Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 120* (Washington, 1938)

49. The largest body of information on California archaeology is to be found in the *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, Nos. 1-55* (Berkeley, 1948-1961).

50. For the techniques and methods used in archaeological investigation in California, see Heizer, ed., *A Guide to Archaeological Field Methods*, (Palo Alto, National Press, 1958).

51. John E. Mills, "Recent Developments in the Study of Northwestern California Prehistory," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey Report No.* 7, *Paper 5* (Berkeley, 1950), 21-25.

52. Heizer, "Preliminary Report on the Leonard Rockshelter Site, Pershing County, Nevada," *American Antiquity*, 17 (Salt Lake City, 1951), 89-98.

53. For reviews of the evidence of the antiquity of man in California, see *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey Report No.* 7, *Paper 2* (Berkeley, 1950), 5-9; *ibid., No. 16* (Berkeley, 1952); *ibid., No. 2* (Berkeley, 1948).

54. Heizer, "The Archaeology of Central California: I, The Early Horizon," *Univ. Calif. Anthrop. Records*, 12:1 (Berkeley, 1949).

55. For summary, see Richard K. Beardsley, "Culture Sequences in Central California Archaeology," *American Antiquity,* 14 (Menasha, 1948), 1-28.

56. Davis, *op. cit.* in note 26 above.

57. Ronald L. Olson, "Chumash Prehistory," *Univ. Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.,* 28:1 (Berkeley, 1930); William J. Wallace, "A Suggested Chronology for Southern California Coastal Archaeology," *Southwestern Journ. of Anthrop.,* 11 (Albuquerque, 1955), 214-230.

58. Elizabeth W. C. Campbell, William H. Campbell, Ernst Antevs, Charles A. Amsden, Joseph A. Barbieri, and Francis D. Bode, "The Archaeology of Pleistocene Lake Mohave," *Southwest Museum Papers No. 11* (Los Angeles, 1937).

59. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., "Recent Developments in the Problem of the North American Paleo-Indian," *Smithsonian Misc. Collections,* 100 (Washington, 1940), 51-116.

60. For a summary and guide, with ample documentation, of archaeological investigations in California up to 1955, see Martin A. Baumhoff and A. B. Elsasser, "Summary of Archaeological Survey and Investigation in California," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey Report No. 33, Paper 37* (Berkeley, 1956). For a synthesis of California archaeological cultures, see Meighan, "Californian Cultures and the Concept of an Archaic Stage," *American Antiquity,* 24 (Salt Lake City, 1959), 289-305; James A. Bennyhoff, "The Desert West: A Trial Correlation of Culture and Chronology," *Univ. of Calif. Arch. Survey Report No. 24* (Berkeley, 1958), 98-111.

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63. The best study yet made of the mission system and its effects on the Indian population and culture is by Sherburne F. Cook, "The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: I-IV," *Ibero-Americana, Nos. 21-24* (Berkeley, 1943).

64. In addition to emergency salvage excavation before prehistoric sites are destroyed, a number of archaeological investigations of early historic sites have been carried out in California. For a general review of these, see Heizer, "Observations on Historic Sites and Archaeology in California," *Univ. Calif. Arch. Survey Report No. 9, Paper 6* (Berkeley, 1950). For specific examples, see Heizer, "Archaeological Investigation of Sutter Sawmill Site in 1947," *Calif Hist. Soc. Quarterly,* XXVI:2 (1947), 134-159; Adan E. Treganza, "Fort Ross: a Study in

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The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte

By FLORIAN GUEST, O.F.M.

THE ORIGINS OF THE VILLA DE BRANCIFORTE are interwoven with the political and military threads of the Nootka Controversy. The general significance of this crisis, in its bearing upon the defense of the California coast, must be discussed briefly if the foundation of Spanish California's third municipality is to be viewed in its proper perspective.

Hoping to outstrip the Russians in a race for possession of Nootka Sound, the Spanish government sent Esteban José Martínez, in command of the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*, to fortify the harbor and make an establishment there. Upon his arrival, May 5, 1789, he encountered five ships—two American, one Portuguese, and two British.[1] Captain James Colnett, the British commander, had come to take possession of Nootka and to establish a fort and a trading post there. Since he refused to show his passports or the patents which authorized him to colonize the area, Martínez detained the two British vessels, the *Argonaut* and the *Royal Princess*, and determined to send them to San Blas.[2] Colnett based his action on the voyage in which Captain James Cook, in 1778, had visited and named Nootka Sound and claimed rights of discovery.[3] The actual discoverer of Nootka was the Spanish navigator Juan Pérez, who arrived there in 1774.[4]

The incident provoked a threat of war but Spain was in no condition either to make or to accept a challenge. Danger of conflict was averted by the Nootka Convention of October 28, 1790. According to its terms,

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both Spanish and British subjects could have free entry into any part of the Pacific coast north of the Spanish settlements in Alta California, and British subjects could not form any establishments on coasts of the Americas occupied by Spain.[5] Implied in the wording of the convention, however, was a principle which Spain feared and which Great Britain advocated and had acted upon in the past, viz., that any area not actually occupied by one power could be legitimately entered and held by another. Great Britain had invoked this principle to great effect in seizing small islands in the Caribbean, and Spain felt that she would now follow the same policy on the Pacific coast. As the Spanish ministers pointed out in their pre-convention council, there were many places on the Pacific coast of North and South America which Spaniards were not, and would never be, able to inhabit. To accept the terms of the convention as they stood, then, would be but to surrender to British hands the commerce of the Philippine Islands and of the Pacific coast of both North and South America.[6] Negotiations between Great Britain and Spain over the Nootka crisis continued for nearly five years. It was not until April 2, 1794, that Spain finally evacuated Nootka. Henceforth both nations officially enjoyed free access to the area.[7]

Meanwhile the Spanish government gave occasional expressions to fear of aggressive designs the British might have on California. Should California fall into the eager hands of the British, it would be a gateway to illicit trade with the wealthy provinces of Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya.[8] And with the California coast safely under their control, the British would find the Manila galleon an easy target.[9] The Spanish government noted with no small concern that she had no military forces in the Department of San Blas capable of resisting those which the English had at Botany Bay in the South Pacific.[10] The British population at this post numbered five thousand persons, whereas the total population of *gente de razón* in Alta California in 1790 was but 945.[11] On July 3, 1795, the Marqués de Branciforte, in a letter to the Duque de la Alcudia, expressed the fear that perfidious Britain, changing her actual agreement with Spain, might direct her designs to the Sandwich Islands and the coast of California and gain another dominion as she had in Bengal and the coast of India.[12]

Spain was particularly fearful of aggression through illicit commerce. She observed with anxiety that from June 7, 1793, to January 15, 1794, there were seventeen foreign ships that anchored in Nootka, one Portuguese, one French, five American, and ten British.[13] She was convinced that British vessels were interested in something more than the fur trade at Nootka. In her mind all this intensive British shipping included efforts in the direction of contraband, of destroying the commerce of New Spain and the Philippine Islands by the clandestine introduction of Asiatic and European fabrics and goods.[14] This was one reason why she sent Juan Bautisa Matute to intercept a possible British effort to establish a post at Bodega Bay in 1793. With a good port in the immediate vicinity of Spanish possessions, the British would be in an ideal position to carry on contraband trade.[15]

The threat of British aggression posed by the Nootka crisis required a reorganization of military defense in California. Before the controversy began, the presidios had been established, not for resistance of foreign invasion, but for the reduction of the Indians. For this purpose it was sufficient to erect ramparts of simple adobe and garrison them with *soldados de cuera* or leather-jackets—mounted lancers trained for Indian fighting. And as the condition of the presidios shows, artillery was considered of little practical use: San Francisco had only two cannon, neither of them serviceable; San Diego had three, none of them mounted; Santa Barbara had two and one stone mortar; and Monterey had eight and three stone mortars.[16] Confronted with the prospect of foreign aggression, however, the viceroy determined that not a moment must be lost in fortifying the presidios. Batteries would have to be constructed for the defense of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. Eight twelve-pound cannon should be the minimum for each. The mounted lancers must be officered by men who could train them to European methods of warfare. Additional troops would be required to man the presidios, and artillerymen would be necessary to work the batteries.[17]

Plans for the defense of California were drawn up by three men, namely, Pablo Sánchez, a military man; Salvador Fidalgo, a naval officer, and Miguel Costansó, an engineer. To protect the extended California coastline, with all its small bays and inlets, was recognized as impossible. Attention was therefore concentrated on the three principal seaports—San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego. To protect these three ports against attack by an individual ship, it was planned to establish at each a battery with a detachment of artillery. Additional infantry, trained in European warfare, would be provided. But if the enemy should attack in force, with a squadron, no resistance should be attempted. In this case, the only prudent course a commander could follow would be to retire into the interior with inhabitants, moveable property, and livestock, and, from places of shelter, to harrass the enemy with cavalry attacks. Thus some hope of regaining control of the coastline would be kept alive. But if total resistance were attempted and surrender followed, recovery would be much more difficult.[18]

In the instructions left by Revilla Gigedo for the Marqués de Branciforte, his successor as viceroy of New Spain, nothing is mentioned about increasing the population as a means of defending the California coast.[19] In a letter to Branciforte dated October 17, 1794, however, Miguel Costansó laid a strong emphasis on this point. Costansó stressed the fact that, in the event of an attack on the California coast, the soldiers, even though they put up a vigorous resistance, would ultimately be forced to surrender because there were no reenforcements, no auxiliary troops, to give them support. A vital factor in California defense, then, was increase of the population. Costansó suggested two plans to attain this purpose. One was the establishment of families of *gente de razón* at each mission to help the Indian over the bridge from primitive culture to Western civilization. This plan was supported by governors, missionaries, and presidial captains throughout the frontiers of New Spain, especially in Baja and Alta California. Another excellent plan, recommended ten years before by His Majesty, was to have the Manila galleon, on its way to Acapulco, stop at Monterey and leave there soldiers from the Philippine Islands who had finished their term of service and wished to remain in California either as members of the presidial populations or as settlers in the towns. Costansó urged these two methods of populating California as the simplest, most useful, and least expensive.[20]

The Marqués de Branciforte, however, had other ideas. He was interested in establishing a new town. What Branciforte wanted to do was to provide California, at a single stroke, with both armed defense and an increase of settlers. The Free Company of Catalonian Volunteers, its personnel married, was to go to California as a military contingent. The soldiers, after completing their term of service, were to be granted lands in a new *pueblo* or *villa* to be established in the neighborhood of San Francisco. Land for the new town was to be chosen by Diego de Borica, the governor, and Alberto de Córdoba, engineer-extraordinary. The new municipality was to provide protection for the coast, or at least was to supply an element of surprise in the event of enemy attack. And it was to be fortified in its construction, a task which the engineer knew well how to perform. If the Catalonian Volunteers were sent to California merely as a military detachment, they would cause great expense to the *Real Hacienda,* for as the soldiers retired from military service their places would have to be taken by others. In this plan, however, the soldiers, having been granted lands in the new town, would still be available for service if called upon in the event of enemy invasion. And, at the same time, in the land grants they received they would not only be amply rewarded for their many years of service but would actually be producing crops for the material welfare and advancement of the colony. Thus the new plan combined the best elements of defense, prosperity, economy, and justice.

The town was to be laid out in accordance with the laws of the Indies, with plazas, streets, church, royal houses, *ejidos* and pasture lands. Land was to be granted equally to all and was to be registered in a *Libro de Población,* the record serving as a title to ownership. Alternating with the houses of the citizens there were to be dwellings for the headmen of the neighboring Indian villages. These Indians were to live among the Spaniards, but it would not be permissible for them to bring bows and arrows into the town. Work was to be divided equally among the troops, and all were to labor under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Pedro de Alberni, who was to function as a lieutenant of the governor. Each *vecino* was to build a wall around his house and his *solar,* or houselot. After the *solares* had been distributed, *suertes* or fields of irrigable and nonirrigable land would be granted, in accordance with Felipe de Neve's Regulation. Last would come the distribution of tools and equipment. It was expected that the inhabitants of the town would number more than one hundred. "If this town should succeed it would merit with justice the title of Branciforte, in memory and honor of His Excellency the viceroy."[21]

Most of the Catalonian Volunteers arrived in California with their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Pedro de Alberni, in late March and early April of 1796. The company included a captain, two lieutenants, and seventy-two men. The troops were assigned, in small detachments, to the three presidios of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco.[22]

In June and July Diego de Borica, the governor of California, commissioned Pedro de Alberni and Alberto de Córdoba to determine the best place for the establishment of the new town.[23] They were to investigate the Alameda, the vicinity of Mission Santa Cruz and the Arroyo del Pájaro, and the area around the presidio and mission of San Francisco. Their purpose was to find out whether or not these places contained adequate water, wood, arable land, pasture land, forests, stone, lime, and soil for adobes. They discovered that the area of the Alameda, although it contained a small arroyo, would not offer enough water for the daily use of the settlers, much less for purposes of irrigation, and what it did have was difficult of access because the stream flowed low between high banks. Besides, it was lacking in wood and pasture lands and hence was useless for the establishment of a town. But the worst place in California to attempt a new municipality was the district around the presidio and mission of San Francisco. There were no lands for cultivation within a distance of seven or eight leagues, not even enough for a small rancho. Water was scarce. The presidio was compelled to dig wells to get a sufficient supply. The area was full of sand dunes. There was no forest, no supply of wood for building, within twelve or fourteen leagues. There were no pasture lands within five or six leagues. Firewood for cooking could be taken from the thickets and brambles growing on the sand dunes. And in the few places where some land did provide an opportunity for nonirrigable crops, it could not be taken advantage of because of strong and almost constant winds. Actually, the only place which promised some advantages for the establishment of a *pueblo* was the area just south of Mission Santa Cruz. There land was abundant and there was sufficient water all year round for purposes of irrigation. Many of the fields were humid enough not to require much water and there was plenty of nonirrigable land close by. There were pasture lands for every kind of livestock. For construction of buildings there were forests with different kinds of wood, and there was pure stone, lime, and the right kind of soil for adobes, brick, and tile. Most favorable of all, the sea was close at hand. It offered an abundance of fish and presented opportunities for the shipment of grain by water. This place was thirty leagues from San Francisco, and, from Monterey, it was twenty-two leagues by land and twelve by sea. Since the mission of Santa Cruz already had more than enough land for its cattle and crops, it was difficult to see how the new town could be a disadvantage for the Christian Indians.[24]

Shortly after receiving this information from Alberni and Córdoba, Borica wrote a general report to the Marqués de Branciforte on August 4, 1796, explaining his plans for the new *villa*. Borica pointed out, first of all, that the leather-jackets at the presidios were engaged in too many activities not military in character: making tile and brick, cutting and carrying wood, driving cartloads of clay and wool, bringing in supplies, looking after livestock, working at carpentry, masonry, and a thousand other miscellaneous activities which never left them unoccupied. He would have liked to relieve these men of their civilian chores and free them for military duty but was unable to do so. If the soldiers were dispensed from these assignments, livestock would not be cared for, construction would cease, and buildings would go unrepaired. To get vaqueros to replace the soldiers in these lay occupations was impossible. To obtain permission from the missionaries to employ Indians for this work would be but to open wide the door to misunderstanding, dispute and unrest which would be more of a hindrance than a help. The older sons of the soldiers were used to occupy vacant places in the military companies. The younger ones were being trained as tailors, tile-makers, and potters. The *vecinos* in the towns, not yet equal to the task of providing the grain necessary for the presidios, were unable to supply aid to the soldiers.

The only way, said Borica, to solve the manpower problem in California, to relieve the troops with vaqueros, and to populate the province was to obtain settlers from New Spain. In Mexico City and Guadalajara there were many people from farming families who had been condemned to exile for lesser crimes like concubinage, brawling, cheating and the like, and had not been defamed. Let people of this class, and others of similar character, be sent up to California from San Blas.

Secondly, Borica suggested that the new town be constructed by the government. It was noticeable, he said, that at San José and Nuestra Señora de los Angeles the *vecinos* were still living in Indian huts roofed with rushes. The reason for this was that they were so busy cultivating their fields and producing grain that they had had no time to provide themselves with the proper housing. To avoid this, he continued, the houses in the new town should be built of adobe and roofed with tile at the expense of the *Real Hacienda*. The cost of each house, however, was to come to no more than two hundred pesos.

Thirdly, the new *villa* was to be populated by Catalonian Volunteers who, married or unmarried, finished with their term of service or not, wished to remain as settlers in California. Additional *vecinos* would comprise settlers from New Spain, people without land at San José or Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, and retired and discharged soldiers from the presidios.[25]

The new *villa*, then, was to be established in a healthful spot, with every advantage for cultivation, construction, and commerce, about 3,000 *varas* (a little more than a mile and a half) from the sea. Though forbidden by the Laws of the Indies, the proximity of the new town to the sea, far from being a source of concern, was looked upon as an advantage.[26]

Borica, full of high hopes and ambitious plans for California, asked that there be brought up from San Blas sufficient clothing for the settlers and the tools and utensils necessary for the various trades and occupations they practised. This would be required because there was no merchant in California capable of supplying these articles. Among the settlers there should be four classes of people: first, robust farmers of cold or at least temperate dispositions; secondly, carpenters, smiths, stone masons, and bricklayers; thirdly, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, weavers, and hatters; and fourthly, shipwrights and sailors who could develop the fishing industry in Monterey Bay. Finally, Borica requested that the viceroy approve the establishment of the new *villa* in the vicinity of Mission Santa Cruz and that he give the order to proceed with the building of the houses as planned by the engineer.[27]

The digest of the royal *fiscal*, dated December 29, 1796, at Mexico City, summed up the reasons for the establishment of the Villa de Branciforte thus: first, to release the presidial troops of California from the civilian occupations in which they were engaged; secondly, to increase the population; thirdly, to facilitate communication between the seaports on which the coast defense depended; and fourthly, to perpetuate the memory of the Marqués de Branciforte, to whose indefatigable zeal for their greater increase and prosperity those remote regions owed so much.[28]

Strenuous efforts were made in New Spain to recruit settlers for California but with small success. On March 3, 1796, the king approved the plan of populating California with the families of retired soldiers and with other families who might volunteer for the project. The intendancies of Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Potosí, Guanajuato, and Valladolid were searched for families, poor, honorable, and of pure blood, who might be sent to California to increase the population and who, far from corrupting the Christian Indians, would give them good example. Thirteen voluminous notebooks were filled with lists of families, plans, questionnaires, answers, and conclusions. Results were almost nil. Poor but honorable families anxious to improve their lot failed to respond to the viceroy's invitation to move to California. The reasons given were old age, infirmity, fear of travel by sea, and attachment to the land they already possessed. Probably they were loathe to leave the security they already had for what chance might offer them on a distant and little known frontier. Ultimately, two groups were organized to make the voyage to the new province. The first, from Guadalajara, consisted of nine men condemned for petty crimes. The second, from Guanajuato, comprised sixteen men of the same class, and three volunteers.[29]

This was a serious setback to the sanguine Borica's plans for a progressive province. A second misfortune was war. On March 1, 1793, war broke out between Spain and France. There had been a long series of provocative acts, and the execution of Louis XVI precipitated hostilities. During this war England was allied with Spain. But when Spain on July 22, 1795, made a separate peace with France, ceding to her the rest of the island of Santo Domingo, England became annoyed and assumed a threatening attitude which ultimately led to war between the former allies. The conflict with England began on October 7, 1796, and lasted until the Peace of Amiens of March 27, 1802.[30] On March 26, 1797, Borica wrote to Branciforte that thirty copies of the declaration of war between England and Spain had arrived, that all presidios were put on a war basis, that military exercises would be held, especially at all points where there were batteries, and that the *pueblos* and missions would be alerted.[31] Although Borica did not say so, it is evident that the outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain and the consequent necessity of maintaining the California presidios on a war basis must have prevented the governor from assigning to the new Villa de Branciforte the soldiers who, he had hoped, would soon become settlers there. The Nootka Controversy had presented an occasion for initiating the new project, and yet the armed conflict that ultimately arose proved an obstacle to its realization.

Of the two groups of settlers for the new Villa de Branciforte, the first to arrive in California was the one from Guadalajara. On May 12, 1797, they disembarked at Monterey, seventeen persons in all, and a sorry lot they were.[32] Borica's instructions given above with respect to clothing, tools, and classes of people had not been observed. First of all, the colonists were poorly clothed, so that some began to work at their trades immediately in order to acquire the clothing they would need when the settlement began. Secondly, far from being robust, some of them were ill of syphilis and needed medical care. Thirdly, they had brought little, if any, equipment, so that the governor began at once to gather supplies of the tools they would need for the construction of their houses. And finally, they were far from measuring up to Borica's requirements regarding the classes of settlers he had wanted. There were three tailors, three farmers, a miner, a saddler, and a carpenter. There were no seamen at all, and the only skilled builder in the group was the carpenter.[33]

On July 17, 1797, the little band of seventeen settlers left the presidio of Monterey. They arrived at the site of Branciforte on July 20. By this time they had been provided with two carts, oxen, and tools for farming, carpentry and iron work. Gabriel Moraga was appointed their *comisionado*.[34]

On December 31, 1797, Gabriel Moraga drew up a list of the settlers at Branciforte and of their possessions in livestock. With the addition of four retired soldiers and their families, the population of the new *villa* had risen to forty souls. Each of the newcomers was much wealthier in livestock than were the original nine vecinos. Marcelino Brabo had thirty-two cattle, eight oxen, twenty horses, eleven mares, and one burro; Macario Castro, thirty-six cattle; Apolinario Bernal, twenty cattle, eight horses, eighteen mares, and one burro; and Juan Pinto, eighteen cattle, two oxen, four horses, twenty-two mares, one mule, and one burro. The original nine settlers had no cattle at all and only two or three oxen and horses each.[35]

On August 20, 1797, just one month after the arrival of the original settlers at the site of Branciforte, Alberto de Córdoba wrote Governor Borica a brief account of what agricultural progress had been made up to that point. The settlers were living in temporary dwellings located near the corrals and about 200 *varas* distant from a stream in which water ran all year round. They still had to build a dam and some ditches but were working on them. Two fields for grain had been measured. The dry field, 3,000 *varas* long and 2,000 wide, was expected ultimately to yield 3,000 *fanegas* of wheat. The irrigated field, 1,500 *varas* in one direction and 1,300 in the other, was capable of producing 2,700 *fanegas* of maize.[36]

The settlers were given salary and rations in accordance with the requirements of Felipe de Neve's Regulation.[37]

By the time the first group of settlers had set sail for California, a second group had been organized in Guanajuato. It consisted, at that time, of three volunteers and sixteen men who had been sentenced for petty crimes.[38] By March 31, 1798, the list of convicts from Guanajuato was reduced to twelve, but seven more from Guadalajara were added to the group, making twenty-two in all.[39] When they arrived in Monterey on August 28, 1798, their occupations were stated as follows: there were three hatters, four blacksmiths, five wool-workers, four saddlers, two potters, two soldiers, one shoemaker, and one farmer. Borica, however, instead of assigning them to the Villa de Branciforte or to San José or La Reina de los Angeles, decided to leave them to the practice of their trades. His reason for doing so was that he did not want the general population to be made up of farmers.[40] Some of the settlers were used to fill vacant places in the cavalry and infantry. How many were transferred to military life is not known.[41]

The second group of convicts soon became the center of two legal disputes. The first was whether or not they were entitled to the salary and rations granted to the settlers already established in Branciforte. The second was whether or not they had the right to return to New Spain after having finished their term of punishment. Diego de Borica was not available for the solution of either problem. In April, 1799, he applied for a leave of absence because of ill health. He received permission to leave California in September of the same year but delayed departure until January 16, 1800. Six months later he was dead. The provisional governor following the death of Borica was José Joaquín de Arrillaga, then lieutenant governor in Baja California. Arrillaga continued his residence at Loreto for six years. On March 26, 1804, he was appointed military and political governor of California but he did not go to Monterey until January of 1806.[42]

With respect to the legal problems, the counsellors of the viceroy advised, first of all, that only those who entered the Villa de Branciforte as settlers could receive the salary, rations, and other aid provided for by the Regulation of Felipe de Neve.[43] It was also determined that only those whose conduct was satisfactory could be accepted as settlers and receive the aid in question.[44] Accordingly, six of the convicts were admitted as *vecinos* at the Villa de Branciforte.[45] Secondly, it was decided that once the settlers had received government aid at Branciforte their petition to return to New Spain could not be considered. For one of the conditions under which such aid was granted was that the recipient could not, under any circumstances, alienate the *solar* and *suertes* allotted to him. Their property was hereditary. If they could relinquish their property and leave, then the contract they had made with the government would be meaningless, the salary and rations given them would have been wasted, and the purpose of populating California would not have been attained.[46]

The trouble the convicts caused the government was more than legal in character. Their reputation for good conduct was not an enviable one. Their immorality and disorderly behavior were a scandal to the troops, the settlers, and the Indians. Sometimes their offenses were more than minor. José Barbosa, one of the citizens of Branciforte, made an attempt on the life of Hermenegildo Sal, the commander of the presidio of Monterey. Another convict made various attempts to assassinate Governor Borica himself.[47] In another letter to the viceroy, Arrillaga describes the convicts as insolent, vicious, brutal, and immoral and asks that the sending of any more be suspended.[48] Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén portrays them as lovers of idleness and ease, half-clothed and hungry, wandering around in presidios, ranchos, and pueblos, serving now one and now another but not fitting in anywhere.[49] Raymundo Carrillo complained that, with their vices and bad example, the convicts were corrupting the Christian and pagan Indians and the children of the *gente de razón*.[50] José Argüello declared it would be a great benefit, a distinct gain, if the convicts did not encumber the earth. The province of California, he said, was as it were in its infancy. It should not be nourished with contaminated milk. What progress could be expected from people who were lazy and who spent the greater part of their time in prison?[51] José de la Guerra's comment was that it would be most favorable to the interests of the province if the convicts were distant from it a million leagues for a couple of centuries, an occurrence which would be of advantage both to God and the king.[52] Governor Arrillaga, in a letter to the viceroy, dated November 9, 1801, described both the original settlers and the retired soldiers at Branciforte as greatly disgusted. The settlers, he said, behaved as if they had never learned how to work; or if they did know, their vices soon overcame them and prevented them from accomplishing anything. The retired soldiers, though of a different stamp, allowed their attention to stray too often to horseback riding. During the past year only a few had planted their seeds and reaped a harvest. How many would do so this year he did not yet know.[53] It is evident that one of the principal reasons why the Villa de Branciforte failed to fulfill the high expectations of its founders was the character of its settlers. Little initiative or accomplishment could be expected from men of such unfortunate habits.

A second cause of the disappointing progress made by the *villa* was the objection of the Franciscan missionaries to its establishment. The padres pointed out that the Villa de Branciforte was but a gunshot distant from Mission Santa Cruz, a proximity which was, in several respects, a contravention of the Laws of the Indies. First of all, they argued, no lands might be given to Spaniards to the prejudice of the Indians, and any such lands that had been given must be returned.[54] Secondly, pasture lands for the grazing of cattle owned by Spaniards should not be located within three leagues of new reductions of Indians. Lands for the grazing of sheep should be distant one league.[55] Thirdly, Indian *pueblos* and reductions were entitled to an ample supply of water and land, including an *ejido* one league in length where the Indians could let their cattle graze without danger of their being confused with those of Spaniards.[56] But since the cattle of Mission Santa Cruz had long been accustomed to feed on the south or Branciforte bank of the river which separated the two institutions, and since it would be difficult to change the habit the cattle had formed, there was danger that Branciforte cattle might become confused with mission stock. Fourthly, the lands and profit of the Indians could not be taken away from them.[57] And finally, the padres were convinced that between Mission Santa Cruz and San Francisco another place could be found for the establishment of a town. On these grounds the president of the College of San Fernando and his counsellors on August 30, 1797, requested a suspension of the Villa de Branciforte.[58]

Governor Borica's rebuttal was practical and impressive. He argued that Mission Santa Cruz had abundant land for agricultural purposes, more, in fact, than it needed, and therefore the new town could not embarrass the missionaries economically. For planting, the mission had 3,434,600 square *varas* of irrigated land, all of it on the opposite side of the river from Branciforte. And Fray Manuel Fernández, a priest at the mission, admitted that in 1796 the mission had grown more wheat than there were hands to harvest it. For pasture, the mission had an area eight to nine leagues long and a league and a half wide, with seven arroyos having a permanent supply of water. The mission was free to expand north, south, and east. It was only on the west that the territory of the town would be a barrier to the extension of mission lands.

Secondly, Borica took great pains to show that the Indian population of Mission Santa Cruz was decreasing. He made much of the fact that of the 509 Indians the mission had had in the year 1797, 138 had left. Some, he admitted, would be recovered but not many, for a number of these Indians had lands that were closer to the new Mission San Juan Bautista than to Santa Cruz and hence would prefer the former to the latter. Besides, during the years 1794, 1795, and 1796 at least 11¾ per cent of the Indians at the mission had died. His conclusion was obvious: if the mission already had more property than it needed on the opposite side of the river from Branciforte for a population of 509, and if the population was decreasing, what valid economic objection could the missionaries have to the establishment of the new municipality? Obviously, none.

Thirdly, Borica maintained that the new *villa*, far from being a disadvantage to the mission, had actually been a source of profit. The mission had gained by selling surplus seed to the townsmen. And besides, there had been built for the mission, under Córdoba's direction, two *lienzos*, a warehouse, a limekiln, and a mill.[59]

Fourthly, Borica enumerated some advantages which would accrue to the province from the foundation of the new municipality. For example, a port would be established on the coast as a defense against the enemies of the crown. Furthermore, trade would eventually develop and there would be shipment of imports and exports. And finally, the government was saved the expense of maintaining a military guard at the *villa,* for the soldiers from the guard at the mission helped to maintain the peace and to instruct the citizens in their agricultural labors.[60]

Fifthly, Borica offered proof that between Mission Santa Cruz and the presidio of San Francisco there was no suitable place for the establishment of a town. He had Alberto de Córdoba make a thorough survey of the entire area. The engineer found three places good for ranchos of about three or four *vecinos* each but no place capable of sustaining a town.[61]

The outcome of the dispute was unfavorable to the missionaries, but their appeal for a suspension of the new municipality had the effect of delaying work on the project. In his digest for September 24, 1799, the royal *fiscal* stated that as long as the location of the projected *villa* remained in doubt it would be useless to expend money and effort in the construction of buildings on the disputed site.[62] On December 11, 1800, the royal *fiscal* declared that the objections raised by the missionaries of the College of San Fernando had been disposed of and that work on the establishment of the new *villa,* with the approval of the viceroy, might be renewed.[63] The opposition of the Franciscans delayed the project for a little over three years.

A third misfortune which placed an obstacle in the path of the *villa's* progress was the difficulty encountered in financing the project. Alberto de Córdoba, in a five-page itemized report dated August 28, 1797, calculated the total cost of constructing the new *villa* at 23,405 pesos and one *real.*[64] This sum, however, represented only the cost of the materials and equipment. Córdoba asked for additional funds to pay the salaries of four masons, four carpenters, one stone-cutter, and one smith.[65]

The granting of these funds by the central government was delayed by the objections of the Franciscan missionaries until December 11, 1800. Finally, on March 6, 1801, the cost of the project was approved by the *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda.*[66] Now that the decision to pay the necessary funds had been reached, however, a note of uncertainty began to make itself heard on the amount of money that should be spent. From early in 1800 to December of 1802 there was much speculation on the rise of prices caused by the war and on the advisability of postponing the purchase of the tools to be used in the building of Branciforte until economic conditions improved. On June 5, 1801, Manuel Cárcaba, the paymaster general in Mexico, wrote to the new viceroy, Félix Berenguer de Marquina, recommending the suspension of the investment in tools and equipment until prices had been reduced.[67] On November 26, 1801, the viceroy was informed that the price of tools, if they should be purchased at that time, would be 1700 pesos, a sum nearly twice the 976 pesos originally estimated by Alberto de Córdoba.[68] The *fiscal* stated that since the cost of the tools for the building of Branciforte was at least twice what it had been computed before, their purchase and shipment to California would not be urgent.[69]

On September 30, 1802, the viceroy was informed that since there was no engineer or architect in California, such a man should be appointed, or if not that, at least an intelligent overseer or foreman, for without competent direction the work would be done badly and the money of the royal treasury would be wasted. Since the provisional governor of California had no one to whom he could entrust the task, it would be better to suspend operations on the construction of the projected *villa* until after the new governor had arrived.[70]

On December 11, 1802, operations on the Villa de Branciforte were suspended by order of the viceroy. The reasons for the suspension were as follows. First, notwithstanding the report of the former governor, Borica, that a limekiln had been built and progress made, it had been discovered that actually, after five years, almost nothing had been accomplished. Secondly, the provisional governor himself, still in Loreto, could not be on hand to direct the work, and his presence, to prevent inefficient building and waste of money, was necessary. Thirdly, there was no architect to whom the provisional governor could entrust the task of construction. It was therefore concluded that the government should wait for the appointment of a new governor before proceeding with the purchase of tools and the expenditure of funds necessary for the construction of the new Villa de Branciforte.[71]

In 1803 José de la Guerra was sent to make a report on the condition of the Villa de Branciforte. The account he gave was a sad commentary on the town itself and on the competence of the men who had established it. De la Guerra found the houses of the town constructed without solidity, arranged without symmetry, and located on a poorly chosen site, namely, a little level spot on the extremity of a small hill. Of the twenty-five houses, only one was built of adobe. The rest were made of palisades covered with mud and were roofed with tule. They were grouped together without the slightest vestige of streets or a plaza. The opportunities for planting and reaping a good harvest were few. In the vicinity there was no lack of rich irrigated land but Mission Santa Cruz had it all, just as the *villa* had all the best pasture land. Thus the town and the mission were a source of mutual disadvantage to one another. Not, of course, that there had been no progress at all. The town had been greatly improved over what it had been in the time of the distinguished Governor Borica. But what had been accomplished had been due to the retired soldiers who had established their homes in the town and had achieved what would have been utterly beyond the abilities of the settlers if they had been left to themselves.[72]

The *villa*, then, did not have sufficient arable land. This, the fourth difficulty obstructing the *villa's* progress, was the most fundamental of all. Indeed, it posed an insurmountable barrier to success. Since Mission Santa Cruz had the greater and better portion of arable land, and since most of what the town had was pasture land, the Villa de Branciforte was incapable of sustaining in its restricted area a population equal to that of San José or La Reina de los Angeles. The only solution for this problem was the suppression of Mission Santa Cruz. From the viewpoint of the aborigines, this course of action was feasible. Since all the Indians in the area had been converted, and since all belonged to the same nation as those at Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista, they could easily have been distributed among those two missions. The mission continued, however, and in consequence the town was automatically deprived of any opportunity it might have had to develop.[73]

The population of Branciforte rose and fell rapidly within a few years. On December 31, 1797, the new *villa* had forty souls in all.[74] According to a census taken by Ignacio Vallejo on November 28, 1801, there were twenty retired soldiers at the Villa de Branciforte, fifteen of them married and five single. The total number of persons given is eighty-three, but it is not clear whether this figure refers only to the retired soldiers or whether it also includes settlers.[75] At the end of 1802 the total population of the town was 101 souls.[76] In a census dated December 23, 1803, Vallejo gives the same figure. The town included sixteen married men, the same number of married women, forty-two unmarried males, twenty-six unmarried females, and one widow.[77] Within one year, however, the population of Branciforte dwindled to thirty-one souls.[78] A few months later the number of settlers in Branciforte was given as five. This figure would not necessarily change the total number of souls, however, for it does not mention either wives, children, or retired soldiers.[79] The reasons for the sudden decline in population are not given, but insufficient arable land could easily have done much to account for it. In 1811 the total population of Branciforte was thirty-seven,[80] and in 1815 it was fifty-three.[81]

Thus it was, then, that the Villa de Branciforte became the least important of the three municipalities of the Spanish period (1769-1821) in California. Originally it was to serve as a fortified center populated primarily by retired soldiers. As planned, it enjoyed a measure of dignity and importance in which San José and La Reina de los Angeles did not share. As actually developed, however, it retained no distinction except its name.

NOTES

1. The American and Portuguese commanders played no significant role in the controversy which followed.

2. Revilla Gigedo to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, April 12, 1792, Huntington Library, HM 296.

3. Notes of the Secretary, no date, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado 4287. Hereinafter cited as A.H.N.

4. Revilla Gigedo to Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, Mexico, October 29, 1791, A.H.N., Estado 4287.

5. *Convención entre el Rey Nuestro Señor y el Rey de la Gran Bretaña . . . 28 de octubre de 1790 . . .* (Madrid, Imprenta Real), A.H.N., Estado 2848.

6. La Junta de ocho ministros que V.M. resolvió se convocase sin precedencia, ceremonia ni etiqueta en la primera secretaría de estado en el Real Palacio de Madrid, Madrid, October 25, 1790, A.H.N., Estado 4291 (2).

7. The Marqués de Branciforte to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, May 10, 1795, A.H.N., Estado 4290.

8. Revilla Gigedo to the Conde de Floridablanca, Mexico, September 1, 1791, A.H.N., Estado 4289.

9. Revilla Gigedo to the Conde de Aranda, Mexico, November 30, 1792, Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 9. Hereinafter cited as A.G.N.

10. Revilla Gigedo to the Conde del Campo del Alange, Mexico, July 27, 1790, A.H.N., Estado 4289.

11. Ramón Saavedra, Nootka, June 15, 1794, A.H.N., Estado 4290. Resumen de la población de los establecimientos de la Nueva California. Monterey, July 1, 1790, Archive of California 50. Hereinafter cited as CA.

12. The Marqués de Branciforte to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, July 3, 1795, A.H.N., Estado 4290. *Gente de razón* means people of any race, including Indians and Negroes, who follow a European way of life.

13. The Marqués de Branciforte to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, August 29, 1794, A.G.N., Virreyes 179.

14. Revilla Gigedo to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, April 12, 1793, Huntington Library, HM 296.

15. Revilla Gigedo to the Duque de la Alcudia, Mexico, November 30, 1793, A.H.N., Estado 4290.

16. José Joaquín de Arrillaga to Revilla Gigedo, Monterey, July 8, 1793, A.G.N., Californias 9.

17. Revilla Gigedo to the Conde de Aranda, Mexico, November 30, 1792, A.H.N., Estado 4290.

18. Pablo Sánchez, Salvador Fidalgo, and Miguel Costansó to the Marqués de Branciforte, Mexico, July 13, 1795, Biblioteca Nacional, Papeles referentes a México, No. 19266.

19. Instrucción del Conde de Revilla Gigedo to the Marqués de Branciforte, June 20, 1794, Biblioteca Nacional, No. 11003.

20. Miguel Costansó to the Marqués de Branciforte, Mexico, October 17, 1794, Biblioteca Nacional, Papeles referentes a México, No. 19266.

21. [Joseph María] Beltrán to the Contadores Mayores, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, November 17, 1795, A.G.N., Californias 9. The same document is to be found in CA 7 and in Expediente sobre la erección de la Villa de Branciforte en la Nueva California, 1796-1803, W. B. Stephens Collection, University of Texas Library. This collection of documents on the Villa de Branciforte will be cited hereinafter as Branciforte Expediente. Confer also Notes of the Secretary of the Viceroyalty, December 15, 1795, to the governor of California, A.G.N., Californias 9. The same document is available in the Branciforte Expediente.

The *ejidos* were a tract of public land ideally surrounding the town proper on all four sides. Its purpose was the common convenience and benefit of the settlers. *Real Hacienda* means the royal treasury.

22. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco, 1884-1890), I, 540-541.

23. Borica to Alberni, Monterey, June 16, 1796, CA 52. The same letter is available in the Branciforte Expediente. Borica to Córdoba, Monterey, July 16, 1796, CA 52.

24. Alberni to Borica, San Francisco, July 1, 1796, CA 52. Córdoba to Borica, Presidio de San Francisco, July 20, 1796, CA 52. Both documents are available in Branciforte Expediente.

The Alameda was a general term used to describe the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay. Cf. Bancroft, *History of California,* I, 551.

25. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, August 4, 1796, Branciforte Expediente.

26. Branciforte Expediente, p. 111. *Recopilación, Ley 6, Título 7, Libro 4.*

27. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, September 23, 1796, Branciforte Expediente.

28. The fiscal to the viceroy, Mexico City, December 29, 1796, Branciforte Expediente. The *fiscal* was an attorney for the crown in the *audiencia.* He defended the king's interests, especially in cases involving the treasury, the Church, and the rights of Indians.

29. The fiscal de la Real Hacienda to the viceroy, Mexico, May 19, 1807, A.G.N., Californias 17.

30. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (4 vols.: Barcelona, 1909), IV, 75-87.

31. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, March 26, 1797, A.G.N., Californias 74.

32. Diego de Borica, Monterey, May 12, 1797, Nota de los individuos que en el día de la fecha se desembarca de la fragata Concepción en el puerto de Monterey . . . para la fundación de la Villa de Branciforte, Branciforte Expediente. The list reads as follows: José Vicente Mojica, Spanish, a carpenter, thirty years of age, his wife Victoria Luna, and five children; José Barbosa, Spanish, a tailor, thirty-seven years of age, and his wife, Felipa de Estrada; Josef Silvestre Machuca, Spanish, a farmer, twenty-eight years of age; Josef María Arcelo, Spanish, a farmer, eighteen years of age, unmarried; Fermín Cordero, Spanish, a tailor, twenty-eight years of age, unmarried; Josef Antonio Robles, Spanish, a miner, twenty years of age, unmarried; Josef Azedo, Spanish, a saddler, nineteen years of age, unmarried; Josef Miguel de Oribe, Spanish, a tailor, thirty years of age, unmarried; Josef Augustín Narváez, Spanish, a farmer, twenty-two years of age, unmarried.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Borica to the viceroy, Monterey, July 24, 1797, Branciforte Expediente. A *comisionado* was a military deputy, usually a sergeant, appointed to supervise the government of a town.

35. Gabriel Moraga, Villa de Branciforte, December 31, 1797, Branciforte Expediente. In the Bancroft transcripts reports on the number of livestock differ. Confer Estado de población y ganados de Branciforte, December 31, 1797, CA 50.

36. Córdoba to Borica, Monterey, August 20, 1797, Branciforte Expediente. In Mexico, a *vara* measured 32.99 inches and in California 33 inches. In Mexico a *fanega* was about two and a half bushels. Cf. J. Villasana Haggard, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents,* (Austin, Texas, 1941), pp. 84-85, 76.

37. Borica to the comandante of Monterey, Monterey, May 12, 1797, CA 52. Borica, Sueldo a pobladores, Monterey, February 1, 1798, CA 52. Sobre regulación del situado en 98 a los cuatro presidios de la Alta California, Mexico, August 21, 1798, CA 10. Governor Arrillaga, Extractos de revistas pasadas a pobladores

de Branciforte, Loreto, April 3, 1800, CA 55. The settlers received a salary of 116 pesos, 3½ *reales* in each of the first two years. The rations were included in this amount. They then received a ration of sixty pesos for each of the three years following. Cf. Felipe de Neve, *Reglamento para el gobierno de la provincia de Californias,* trans. John Everett Johnson (2 vols.; San Francisco, 1929), *Título 14, Artículo 2.*

38. Branciforte to the governor of California, Orizaba, May 28, 1797, CA 8.

39. Bonilla, Lista de reos para poblar le Peninsula de Californias, Orizaba, March 31, 1798, CA 10.

40. Borica to Miguel Josef de Azanza, Monterey, September 4, 1798, A.G.N., Californias 37. Other census lists registered settlers' trades somewhat differently.

41. The fiscal de lo civil encargado de Real Hacienda to the viceroy, Mexico, December 31, 1801, A.G.N., Californias 49.

42. Bancroft, *History of California,* I, 729-730; II, 4, 5, 205.

43. Arrillaga to Félix Berenguer de Marquina, Loreta, May 7, 1802, A.G.N., Californias 49.

44. The asesor general to the viceroy, Mexico, February 25, 1802, A.G.N., Californias 49.

45. Arrillaga to Berenguer de Marquina, Loreto, October 12, 1802, A.G.N., Californias 49.

46. Felipe de Goycoechea to the viceroy, Mexico, December 7, 1805, A.G.N., Californias 49.

47. Arrillaga to the viceroy, Loreto, December 5, 1800, CA 14.

48. Arrillaga to the viceroy, Loreto, April 29, 1801, CA 14.

49. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to José Joaquín de Arrillaga, Mission San Francisco, December 27, 1801, A.G.N., Provincias Internas 17.

50. The fiscal de lo civil encargado de Real Hacienda to the viceroy, Mexico, December 31, 1801, A.G.N., Californias 49.

51. Argüello to Arrillaga, San Francisco, December 31, 1801, CA 11.

52. José de la Guerra, Monterey, February 3, 1803, Reos que existen en la jurisdicción de este presidio, CA 16. According to this list, eight convicts were stationed at Branciforte and five at San José.

53. Arrillaga to viceroy, Loreto, November 9, 1801, Branciforte Expediente.

54. *Recopilación, Ley 9, Título 12, Libro 4.*

55. *Ibid., Ley 12, Título 12, Libro 4.*

56. *Ibid., Ley 8, Título 3, Libro 6.*

57. *Ibid., Ley 9, Título 3, Libro 6.*

58. Pedro Callejas, president, and the members of the council of the College of San Fernando to the viceroy, Mexico, August 30, 1797, Branciforte Expediente.

59. A *lienzo* means the wall of a section connecting two wings of an extended building.

60. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, February [day not given], 1798, Branciforte Expediente. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, August 1, 1798, Branciforte Expediente.

61. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, August 1, 1798, Branciforte Expediente.

62. Fiscal to the viceroy, Mexico, September 24, 1799, Branciforte Expediente.

63. Fiscal to the viceroy, Mexico, December 11, 1800, Branciforte Expediente.

64. Branciforte Expediente, pp. 115-119 and 123-124.

65. Borica to the viceroy, Monterey, October 7, 1797, Branciforte Expediente.

66. Junta Superior de Real Hacienda, Mexico, March 6, 1801, Branciforte Expediente. The *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda* was established by a royal decree of 1786. It was a board of finance presided over by a superintendent-delegate appointed by the king. Attendant officials in its meetings were the regents of the *audiencia,* the *fiscal* of the royal treasury, the senior judge of the tribunal of accounts, and the senior accountant of the royal treasury. Cf. Lillian Estelle Fisher, *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1929), p. 100.

67. Manuel Cárcaba to the viceroy, Mexico, June 5, 1801, Branciforte Expediente.

68. Joseph de Vilasola to the viceroy, Mexico, November 26, 1801, Branciforte Expediente.

69. The fiscal to the viceroy, Mexico, December 10, 1801, Branciforte Expediente.

70. Gomer, Mesa de Californias de la Contaduría Mayor del Real Tribunal y Audiencia de Cuentas de México, September 30, 1802, Branciforte Expediente. Alberto de Córdoba had returned to Mexico in October, 1798. Cf. Bancroft, *History of California,* I, 545.

71. The fiscal to viceroy, Mexico, December 9, 1802, Branciforte Expediente.

72. José Antonio de la Guerra to Governor Arrillaga, Monterey June 3, 1803, Branciforte Expediente.

73. Felipe de Goycoechea to the viceroy, Mexico, December 7, 1805, A.G.N., Californias 49.

74. Gabriel Moraga, Villa de Branciforte, December 31, 1797, Branciforte Expediente.

75. Ignacio Vallejo, Villa de Branciforte, November 28, 1801, CA 50.

76. Arrillaga to the viceroy, Loreto, July 21, 1803, Branciforte Expediente.

77. Ignacio Vallejo, Padrón de los habitantes de la Villa de Branciforte, December 23, 1803, CA 8.

78. Ignacio Vallejo, Villa de Branciforte, December 28, 1804, CA 50.

79. Arrillaga, Loreto, May 18, 1805, CA 50.

80. No signature, Monterey, March 1, 1812, Resumen general que manifiesta el estado en que se hallan los nuevos establecimientos de la Provincia de la Nueva California con relación a la población en fin de diciembre de 1811, CA 17.

81. Misiones de los RR. PP. Fernandinos. Noticia de las misiones que ocupan los Religiosos del Colegio de San Fernando de México en dicha provincia, sus progresos en los años de 1815 y 16; número de ministros que las sirven; sínodos que gozan y total de almas con distinción de clases y sexos, CA 17.

An Early Example of Anglo-American Collaboration at Monterey

Edited, with an Introduction, by
JOHN A. HAWGOOD

ALEXANDER FORBES, a partner in the British firm of Forbes, Barron and Company, which was established on the west coast of Mexico, became British vice-consul at Tepic when his trading partner, Eustace Barron, gave up that post in 1847. After collecting material for several years, Alexander Forbes had published his *History of California* in England in 1839.[1] This was the first comprehensive history of Upper and Lower California in the English language and received wide notice. It is claimed that the book helped to interest American statesmen and empire-builders more actively in the possibility of acquiring California, which became a primary objective of American policy in the 1840's, and it was also discussed at the same period by French and Prussian statesmen and diplomats. Forbes's advocacy of British acquisition of, or establishment of a protectorate over, California never seriously appealed to any British government of the day, contrary to American suspicions and fears. Forbes first visited Upper California only after the Americans had captured and occupied the province. He arrived at Monterey in the autumn of 1847 and took a share in the exploitation of the New Almaden quicksilver mine, in partnership with his namesake (but no relative) J. Alexander Forbes, British vice-consul in Monterey, who gave up his official position in 1851, and adopted American citizenship. During his stay in California Alexander Forbes of Tepic was consulted by Com-

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modore Shubrick regarding a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific. His advice to the American Navy and government reads strikingly like a blue-print for the policy that was followed by Theodore Roosevelt over half a century later when he "took the Canal Zone" (in 1903) and implemented the construction of the Panama Canal (opened to shipping in 1915).[2]

U. S. Ship Independence
Monterey, October 7, 1847.

Sir,

As instructed in the letter of the Department of the 26th April, *Confidential,* I have made inquiries in relation to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and having the good fortune to meet at this place with Mr. Alexander Forbes, H.B.M. Consul for Tepic, in Mexico, he addressed to me, at my request, a letter a copy of which is with this.

I take leave to observe that Mr. Forbes' letter is signed with his initials only, his object in this was, I presume, in case the information obtaining on this subject should be called for and published, to avoid giving offence to the Mexican Government.

There is, I understand, anchorage in the bay of Tehuantepec, but all accounts agree with the letter of Mr. Forbes in ascribing it as exceedingly boisterous. Captain Basil Hall says, the hardest gales he ever experienced were in that bay, and the Spanish charts call it *Ventosa.*

The town of Tehuantepec is on a creek, at the mouth of which is a dangerous bar, and there are three other small villages in the neighborhood viz, San Francisco, San Dionisio and Santa Maria, none, I presume, of importance to offer resistance, even if so disposing.

I shall take an early opportunity of getting on the coast, to further execute the instruction of the Department in this matter.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, very respectfully,
Your obt. Svrt.
[signed] W. Branford Shulbrick
Comdr. Pacific Squadron

Honorable
John Y. Mason, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Monterey, 6 October 1847.

A canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific has been long projected, and three points have been proposed as the most proper for forming it, viz. one by Panama, another by the River St. John and the Lake of Nicaragua and the third by Tehuantepec.

That by the Isthmus of Panama would be the shortest, but the land is high and difficult. Some French engineers however, pretend to have found more level ground, and a better direction than that what was formerly known: proposals have been made in Europe to form a company for opening a canal at this place, but without effect.

I have seen a survey and sections of the heights, by the line of St. John and by the Lake of Nicaragua. I forget the name of the person who made the survey, nor do I remember the measurements, but it was represented as the most practicable and least expensive line.

Lately Tehuantepec seems to have become the favorite point. M. Garray of Mexico, had a survey made of this line, and went to England in order to form a company, carrying with him favorable privileges from the Mexican Government, but he has not succeeded. I understand that the Tehuantepec line has also been recently surveyed by engineers from the United States, and favorable reports given by them, but I am unacquainted with the details of those two surveys, and have nothing with me to refer to. I do not know the nature of the coast, nor if there are harbors at either end of the line at Tehuantepec, but I have always been told that constant and most severe gales blow off the land on the Pacific side, and I believe that the whole coast in that vicinity is destitute of good harbors.

It ought to be a leading consideration by the nation who promotes the enterprise of forming a canal between the two oceans, that the country through which it passes shall be in possession of that nation, or at least under the dominion of some other power than that of a Spanish American Republic. It must also be borne in mind that, wherever the canal may be formed, it must be a ship canal capable of permitting merchant vessels to go through without discharging their cargoes; a boat canal, or a railway, would certainly be of little advantage.

If large vessels from North America or Europe had to discharge at the Atlantic mouth of the canal, and the cargoes conveyed by boats or railroads to the Pacific, it would be necessary to have other vessels, of a proper size, to convey the cargoes to their destination—suppose to China or India—and it is not to be expected that vessels will be plenty on the Pacific, particularly on such a forbidding coast as Tehuantepec. The cargoes brought through the canal might lie a long time before a vessel could be procured to carry them on, especially a vessel sufficient for a China or India voyage; and when procured the freight would be high. Nor is it likely that vessels of this description will be found at all on the Pacific coast of America for half a century, so that the route by the Cape of Good Hope would not only be cheaper but even speedier than by a boat canal or railroad.

The case, however, would be very different if a canal between the two seas was made sufficient to permit vessels to pass through with their cargoes, and to proceed on to their ulterior destination without more delay than is usually found in passing canals. This would shorten the voyage amazingly, and is an enterprise worthy of a great nation.

[signed] A. F.

In making the foregoing observations I have considered the traffic by the canals as to be carried on by sailing vessels, but if steam vessels were employed, and a line of them stationed permanently in the Pacific, and to be at the entrance of the canal, at fixed periods, then the objections which I have stated, as to the loss of time, would be obviated, and render a boat canal or railroad less objectionable.

[signed] A. F.

The foregoing is a true copy
Henry Lakantrie
Secy.

NOTES

1. *California: A History of Upper and Lower California from their first discovery to the present time . . . with an appendix relating to steam navigation in the Pacific . . .*, by Alexander Forbes, Esq. (London, Smith Elder and Company, 1839). (Reprinted, with an Introduction by H. I. Priestly, San Francisco, 1937.)

2. The letters which follow are found in the "Rockwell MSS," Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

New Books

Lost Oases Along the Carrizo. By E. I. Edwards. Photographs and Foreword by Harold O. Weight. (Los Angeles, The Westernlore Press, 1961. 126 pp., $12.50.) Reviewed by Charles Russell Quinn.

We sometimes forget that migration into California came not only from the east, but also from the south. The push was both northward and westward—northward first. The Anza colonists started it in 1775 under the sponsorship of the imaginative Viceroy Antonio Bucareli. That the push from the south flickered out while the one from the east flamed up was due to many factors that can be bunched into the term, "wave of the future."

Although Bucareli sent Anza into California some thirty years before Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark into the Northwest, Bucareli, despite his personal vision, represented a dying empire, while Jefferson represented the collective vision of a dynamic new nation. Nevertheless, there was a traffic of sorts into California from the south—much of it yet unexplored by historians—which lasted up to and after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Emigrants going into California from the United States and from Mexico met loosely along a trail that ran parallel to the Gila River to Yuma, dipped down into Baja California after the river crossing, and appeared in Alta California near the base of Mt. Signal. The trail then veered northwest until it funneled the scattered desert-fatigued travelers through a corridor some fifteen miles long that narrowed in width from two miles to a quarter of a mile—the Carrizo Corridor, from Carrizo Creek to Vallecito.

Although Anza missed the corridor and suffered his colonists through the Borrego Badlands, Pedro Fages found it in 1782 while chasing Indians toward Yuma, and it became the southern gateway into California until a trail over the mountains into San Bernardino was established. After that this more southernly trail was abandoned and left to remain in its primitive state up until our time. It continued from Vallecitos, through Box Canyon where the Mormon Battalion had to cut its way "through living rock," and up the San Felipe grade to Warner's Ranch where it divided—one branch going to San Diego, the other to Los Angeles. It was a suffering trail and it cries aloud with history.

In this, his latest book on the desert, Mr. Edwards has focused his fascinating attention on this forgotten corridor and the people who went through it. Not only has he explored the literature but with diaries and journals in hand he has physically walked the corridor in a rewarding bit of historical detective work to establish the location of lost oases within the corridor. He was hampered in his work of locating the central oasis in the corridor which had been landmarked to weary travelers by the silhouette of two or three palm trees in the arid land, because the grand-daddy of the present-day tract developer came that way and cut them down after he had filled his belly. It is unfortunate that Mr. Edwards' research did not uncover the name of this vandal so that it might live in infamy.

In a thoughtful analysis and in field work Mr. Edwards has broken the mystery of the Abraham Johnson diary entry on this oasis as compared to Lieutenant Emory's entry in his journal on the same watering place. The two were marching side by side through the corridor with Kearny's Army of the West and seemed to be writing about two different places.

After devoting about half of the book to the story of the corridor Mr. Edwards then offers us another of his unique descriptive bibliographies. This one on the Colorado Desert. As Harold O. Weight points out in his covering introduction, Mr. Edwards is no exponent of the statistical abstract school of bibliography. He believes that books are warm and living things. He gives his opinions of them with candor and with color. Thus the last half of the book is as readable as is the first.

Along with his other books, *The Valley Whose Name Is Death* and *Desert Voices,* he is blazing a bibliographical trail that might well lead to new horizons of scholarship. *Lost Oases Along the Carrizo* is produced in beautiful format by Paul Bailey's Westernlore Press. Harold Weight is one photographer who can get his warm feeling for the desert into pictures.

Charles Russell Quinn, who has lived in, and studied, the country along the Carrizo, is the author of *Christmas Journey into the Desert,* the story of the Anza colonists.

A Bookman's View of Los Angeles. (Los Angeles, Zamorano Club, 1961. 107 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Andrew H. Horn.

Not consciously a history, this handsome keepsake book nevertheless will have permanent value in historical collections for the accounts it contains of southern California fine printing and of the Zamorano Club. W. W. Robinson's contribution in it, "Profile of Los Angeles," skillfully weaves a good deal of history into a panoramic view of Los Angeles which, as Mr. Robinson interprets the scene, is at last gaining coherence through its freeway system.

Obviously, *A Bookman's View* will appeal first to bibliophiles. It was, after all, published by the members of one club of booklovers for the members of another such club, *i.e.*, to commemorate the visit, in April, 1961, of the Grolier Club of New York City to Los Angeles, where the Zamorano Club was host. The Zamorano Club counts in its membership four of America's leading fine printers: Grant Dahlstrom, the Castle Press; Gordon Holmquist, the Cole-Holmquist Press; Saul Marks, the Plantin Press; and Ward Ritchie, the Ward Ritchie Press of Anderson, Ritchie & Simon. At each of these four presses a section of the book was printed, the whole then bound at the Silverlake Bindery, a subsidiary of Anderson, Ritchie & Simon. This feature, which follows the pattern of *The Colophon* and which has been tried before with less success than the example in hand has achieved, will entice collectors of the graphic arts who can appreciate, perhaps with more sympathy than historians, the editorial complications and proof-reading problems inherent in such a venture. Imperfections in *A Bookman's View* are slight and remarkably few—surprisingly few if one knows (and as it happens in this case, the reviewer *does* know) that the work was done under pressure of unreasonably short dead-lines.

W. W. Robinson's introductory "Profile of Los Angeles" is followed by a section called "Four Libraries with Varied Interests"—brief notes, little more than a statement of scope and collecting interests, on the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library (by Lawrence Clark Powell, its director), the Honnold Library (by David W. Davies, its librarian), the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (by Robert O. Schad, its curator of rare books), and the Southwest Museum Library (by Carl Schaefer Dentzel, the director of the museum). These were the libraries which entertained the visiting Grolier Club members last April. Ward Ritchie's history of fine printing in southern California, charmingly written and based on careful research as well as personal recollection, is by itself a work of major importance which appropriately is given nearly half of the total number of pages in the book. Tyrus G. Harmsen's "The Zamorano Club 1927 to 1961" completes the volume. The timing of this final piece is just right. The Club is old enough to have a perspective in time; and yet young enough to enable Mr. Harmsen to supplement his research in the Club's records by interviews with surviving founders and early members. It is one of those little gems of historical esoterica, so rarely encountered and so highly valued by local chroniclers.

Andrew Horn, who received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees in history from the University of California, Los Angeles, and his B.L.S. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, is assistant dean of the School of Library Service at the University of California, Los Angeles.

An Oregon Idyl. By Nellie May Young. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark, 1961. 112 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

This is a sweetly nostalgic account, a diary considerably supplemented with numerous newspaper clippings which were published in the Pennsylvania *Chester Valley Union*, written by the husband of the diarist.

The account is based on the diary of Janette Lewis Young, who went to Oregon in 1883, as the 23-year-old bride of Reverend William Stewart Young, a pioneer "circuit rider" for the Presbyterian Church. After a short stay in Oregon, the young couple came to southern California and soon thereafter Janette succumbed to the tuberculosis which had plagued her short married life. Dr. Young became a prominent leader in the religious and educational fields in southern California, notably in the establishing of several Presbyterian churches in the Southland and as a founder of Occidental College in 1886, later serving as acting president of the college during 1905-1906.

One regrets that more descriptive material is not forthcoming but must keep in mind the physical condition that troubled the young writer. For the student delving into the development of the Presbyterian Church in the Pacific Northwest, much will be found wanting. For those looking for a charming and poignant picture of the problems faced by a young couple going into comparatively virgin territory to establish a home and a church community, this little book will fill that particular need admirably.

In some respects, it is a different type of an overland narrative in that it begins aboard the Pennsylvania Limited Express in 1883 and points up the many problems, some humorous, some sad, that passengers encountered on board various trains coming across the continent to the Pacific shore.

Anna Marie Hager, second vice president of the Historical Society of Southern California, is co-author of *The Historical Society of Southern California Topical Index* and of the *Cumulative Index—Westways-Touring Topics, 1909-1959.*

A Biographical Sketch of Right Reverend Francisco García Diego y Moreno, First Bishop of the Californias, 1785-1846. By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles, The Borromeo Guild, 1961. 50 pp. $1.50.) Reviewed by Florian Guest, O.F.M.

In this slender volume the author presents a brief biography of Francisco García Diego y Moreno, the first Catholic bishop in California. To some extent, he makes use of archival material, e.g., the *Processus Consistorialis* of Bishop-designate García Diego y Moreno, the Archive of the Apostolic College of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Zacatecas, Mexico, and the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. For the most part, however, he depends upon secondary sources: Hubert Howe Bancroft, Theodore Hittell, Zephyrin Engelhardt, Gerald J. Geary, and others. The principal value of the book is that it gathers between two covers the salient facts on the establishment of the hierarchy in California. Not infrequently, however, additional information is to be found in the sources from which the material is drawn. For example, the author leaves unexplained the reasons why the Franciscan colleges in Mexico were no longer capable of supplying missionaries for the province of California, the reasons for the bishop's imprudence in imposing a system of tithe-collection to finance his diocese, the economic reasons for the difficulties the bishop experienced in raising funds. He leaves unmentioned the fact that the Mexican government, on the verge of bankruptcy itself in the 1840's, was in no position to render financial aid to the Bishop of both Californias. Generally speaking, the author is accurate in his presentation of historical matter. To some of his judgments, however, the reader may be inclined to take exception. For example, on page 39 one reads: "The mission system, as it had evolved to 1840, was eminently satisfactory for the Church, the government, the Indians and the colonists." Since the Indians, principally between 1836 and 1840, had been deprived of a large percentage of their property by an unjust method of secularization, it is difficult to see how the Church could have considered the economic condition of the missions as eminently satisfactory. Certainly the Indians did not. The text of the book is unfortunately marred by occasional typographical errors. Pictures and illustrations, however, are well chosen and in good taste.

FATHER FLORIAN GUEST, a specialist in Hispanic California, is a member of the Franciscan Fathers of California and of the Academy of American Franciscan History.

The A. Wardman Story. By Charles W. Cooper. (Whittier, California, Whittier College, 1961. 96 pp. $2.50.) Reviewed by Dallas E. Livingston-Little.

Professor Cooper has written a small biographical work on one of Whittier's most distinguished citizens. It might properly be called a "local biography" in the same sense that one speaks of "local history." The subject of the biography is not a world figure, indeed he is not even a national figure; and the author, to his credit, does not attempt to make him one—all this is not intended to belittle the work, but to place it in proper perspective. Having done so, it may be added that Aubrey Wardman is presented as a man whose material success has earned him the recognition and esteem of his community because he used his wealth for the benefit of his fellow citizens.

An imigrant from Canada at the turn of the century, young "Gus" Wardman built and later bought the Whittier Home Telephone Company, and subsequently engaged in gold mining, real estate development, petroleum production, and citrus ranching. He made a fortune in the early oil discoveries at Santa Fe Springs during the 1920's, and at one time during the decade following, he was the largest independent citrus producer in California. He is perhaps best known as the principal benefactor of Whittier College. Paul S. Smith of that institution, in his "Concluding Note" to *The A. Wardman Story* calls it "a chapter in the larger story of Southern California, and a substantial footnote to American history."

The book is attractively printed and contains a short introduction by

Richard Nixon, plus twenty-seven pages of photographs. The lack of an index is no serious deficiency in a book of this size.

DR. DALLAS E. LIVINGSTON-LITTLE, a contributor to Western historical journals, is an instructor in history at Los Angeles Valley College.

Cumulative Index—Westways-Touring Topics 1909-1959. Compiled by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager. (Los Angeles, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1961. 505 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

The Automobile Club of Southern California, located in the nation's most highly motorized city (Los Angeles), has for many years published a distinguished magazine devoted to the Western scene, with emphasis on travel, history, recreation, literature, personalities, and the world of nature.

This magazine, *Westways,* and its predecessor, *Touring Topics,* have had an avid following since February, 1909, when the first issue appeared. In the early years it kept rather closely to developments in the automotive world and to crusades for good roads and better motor-vehicle legislation. Presently it entered the broader field, and copies began to be saved by collectors of Californiana and Western Americana. Californiacs especially found the files useful, for the points of view were and are apt to be Southern Californian.

While annually *Westways* carried an index of authors and titles of the current year, this index inadequately covered subject matter. In the past librarians, students, and writers doing research work had to plow through somebody's accumulation of the magazine, or—if the researcher happened to be on the lazy side—to call the editor and ask *when* and *where.*

The solution for the researcher—and for the editorial staff of *Westways*—came when two San Pedro bibliomaniacs volunteered to undertake the master-job of really indexing *Touring Topics* and *Westways* from 1909 to the present time. Anna Marie Hager and Everett Gordon Hager, who not only collect books but read them and who are California historians to boot, offered their services. They had already cut their index-teeth on the voluminous publications of the Historical Society of Southern California which began with the year 1884. They were experts, with two published volumes to prove they had the know-how as well as the stamina to finish any task they started. Needless to say, the editor of *Westways*, Patrice Manahan, leaped to grab the Hagers' offer.

For two years and more the indefatigable husband-and-wife pair labored in the fascinating world of Automobile Club publications. Occasionally they rested by gazing out the window of their library-studio over the waters of the Pacific or even stepped forth long enough to visit a book shop, attend an historical meeting, or stock up on groceries.

The product of the Hagers' meticulous scrutiny, careful segregation of topics, titles, and authors, of their eye-straining typing, and of their card-shuffling, is a hefty, 505-page volume, well-printed and bound in three quarters red Morocco. It is not only a key to fifty-one years of Western magazine material but is a guide to an important segment of the history of the West.

Article titles in the *Cumulative Index* are in italic type, authors, artists, and photographers are in roman, subjects are in bold face. References are listed by month, year, and page. Poetry and activities of the Automobile Club are listed separately.

As a continuous user of the amazing material in *Westways* and *Touring Topics*, this reviewer has already made substantial and satisfactory use of the new index. To use is to appreciate, and the user—like the California Historical Society—will award the Hagers an award of merit.

W. W. Robinson, a trustee of the California Historical Society and a director of the Historical Society of Southern California, is author of *Lawyers of Los Angeles, Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo, Land in California, Ranchos Become Cities,* and of numerous articles on southern California.

Pacific Lumber Ships. By Gordon Newell and Joe Williamson. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1960. 192 pp. $11.95.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

This picture history of coastal lumber ships is the fourth volume published by the authors on Pacific maritime activity, and like the earlier volumes, it is full of pictures of sailing vessels, steam schooners and steel carriers. A clear, brisk narrative, sometimes as salty as the ships it is describing, accompanies the pictures, but seems secondary to the general purpose of the volume, which is to describe by well-selected pictures the drama, passage of time, and variety of vessels in the Pacific lumber trade. The tone of the volume, evident both in the pictures and narrative, is nostalgic and more attention is thus given to the old time lumber vessels than to the new ones.

Plainly this volume is dedicated to any one who loves the sea, but who loves the sea as a longshoreman, crewsman, and observer along the docks. The history is easily handled as one breezes through three centuries in two pages and then is quickly confronted in succession with the experiences of Pope and Talbot in establishing the Puget Mill Company, the developing of the timber trade, and the hauling of timber aboard the "tall ships of the timber ports." There are short accounts of Robert Dollar and Charles R. McCormick and their shipping lines on the Pacific shore.

Many of the pictures are full page reproductions of unusual quality, with good content, fine shadings of black and white, and attractive backgrounds. For the amateur seamen there are good smaller pictures of representative types of vessels. Most of the larger reproductions, however, are selected with unusual care as historical items or as imaginative gems of the sea. It is perfectly obvious that the authors have a feeling for their subject and an eye for photography. One criticism should be made of the book. One feels that the accompanying narrative for the pictures is generally confusing and often lacking in development. Too often subjects are introduced and dropped without very much development, weakening the impression that is intended by the pictures. Too often the nostalgic tone of the volume tends to hide the fact that the lumber industry has played an enormous role in West Coast prosperity and development. Still these shortcomings of the narrative are minor when one considers the beauty of these action photos.

John A. Schutz is professor of history at Whittier College.

The Blond Ranchero: Memories of Juan Francisco Dana. By Rocky Dana and Marie Harrington. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1960. 133 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Theodore Grivas.

A rich simplicity and genial warmth makes the reminiscences of Juan Francisco Dana delightful reading, especially for students of California history. Published under the title of *Blond Ranchero* by Dawson's Book Shop of Los Angeles, Don Juan's memoirs deal, in somewhat desultory fashion, with the period of California history beginning roughly in 1840 and coming down to 1870. Appearing in a limited edition (500 copies) and confined to 125 pages, this slim volume understandably attempts no definitive discussion of the subject.

Juan Francisco Dana, last of the twenty-one children of Doña Josefa Carrillo de Dana of Santa Barbara and Captain William Goodwin Dana originally from Boston, was born in 1838 and lived ninety-eight full years on the Nipomo Rancho, located in the southern portion of San Luis Obispo County. Told to his grandson, Rocky Dana, and to Marie Harrington, Don Juan's memories deal with California rancho life of a century ago. Although he lived well into the twentieth century, Don Juan's lively memory took him back to Mexican California, even recalling memories related to him by his father. Beginning with his birth and the building of Casa de Dana, Don Juan recounts his meeting John C. Frémont in 1847. Then the usual descriptions dealing with the "Romantic Rancho" period are recalled, including the colorful fiestas, the ceremonious Mexican weddings, the savage bull and bear fights, and the gory *matanza*. His role in the Vigilante days and his chance encounter with the notorious Jack Powers additionally enliven Don Juan's memoirs. Many more topics are touched upon, giving the reader further glimpses into the period.

Useful as a corroborative source, the *Blond Ranchero* offers very little new material for California historians. However, as a genuine nostalgic account of the days of the large California ranchos, this volume will tend to enrich the materials already available.

THEODORE GRIVAS is assistant professor of history at Fresno State College.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Letters Home, the Story of Ann Arbor's Forty-Niners (Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor Publishers. 56 pp., notes, illus., $1.50), by G. Russell Bidlack, is a real find for the student of the "Days of '49," for herein are reproduced extracts of fascinating letters of the gold-fortune seekers from Ann Arbor—letters which they wrote on the way and after their arrival in California. Researchers and students will salute the generous efforts of Bidlack in bringing to light these long neglected letter accounts, which are accompanied and enhanced with brief biographical sketches of the various letter writers.

William W. Davenport's *Hawaii 1961* (New York, David McKay Company. 315 pp., illus., index, $4.25) is one of the more modern and fact-packed travel guides which introduces the Hawaiian Islands to the traveler and to the resident in a fun-to-read tone. Excellent use of photographs and maps, with concise recommendations of places to visit and fine historical references, make this new guide book a worthwhile item to keep—if just to review a past trip or planning a future one.

The Big Scalphunter: A Saga of the Great Southwest (New York, The William-Frederick Press. 274 pp., $4.95), by Kinney A. Griffith, is a novel woven of the most vivid and exaggerated threads of imagination to appear before the backdrop of Arizoniana in many an Apache moon. The author interlaces such an embroidery of Spanish, Indian, and "Westernese" phraseology into his story that constant use of the Glossary provided must be made. It is a most highly improbable tale, utilizing all the facets of historical romance and warfare during the period of scalphunting in Arizona Territory. It would behoove the publisher to check numerous discrepancies in pagination (which is his sole responsibility) and not inflict such an unkindness on the author or on readers.

Norris Hundley, Jr., and Glen Dawson have answered a long neglected need in presenting *John Walton Caughey: a Bibliography of His Writings* (Los Angeles, Grant Dahlstrom at the Castle Press. 24 pp.). A fine biographical sketch is given of this noted historian. It will serve many uses for those Californiacs who have been students under Professor Caughey, used his splendid one-volume history *California*, subscribed to the *Pacific Historical Review* (so capably edited by him), or have read or plan to read his many fine writings.

The paper-back re-issue of the 1889 edition of George Bird Grinnell's *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales, With Notes on the Origin, Customs and Character of the Pawnee People* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press. 418 pp., illus., index, $1.65) is well worth publication. Grinnell, an early conservationist, traveled west to the Black Hills of South Dakota with a group of Yale scientists and became so interested in the Pawnee religion and folklore that it became a life-long interest.

In *Pioneers of Elk Valley, Del Norte County, California: Fifty Years in the History of Elk Valley from 1850 to the Turn of the Century* (Angwin, Pacific Union College Press. 60 pp., appendix, biblio., illus.), Frances Turner McBeth's fine work reflects an appreciative and dedicated approach in the preservation of important historical background materials of an area known to the author. Such efforts are of the utmost value and are the gold-nuggets of history for the researcher. *Pioneers of Elk Valley* will be treasured by the local historical societies and should provide a strong inducement to other counties to do something along the same line. Carefully researched, embellished with thirty-four fine photographs, informative and very readable, this work is to be commended.

A unique biography appears in John G. (Flaming Arrow) Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press. 280 pp., $1.50) providing an insight to the Indian religion of that area which is all but missing in most studies. The reminiscences of Black Elk, second cousin to Crazy Horse, cover the battles with Custer, and present a most delightful and picturesque description of a trip to England in 1886 to perform before "Grandmother England" (Queen Victoria) and to observe the Jubilee processions in London. The illustrations are by Standing Bear and add much to this re-issue of the 1932 edition.

Well-illustrated, amazingly informative, and presented in a style readable and stimulating, the publications issued under the editorship title, *Pages of History*, Sausalito, merit the attention of school libraries and hobbyists interested in the subjects covered by their research. *Diving and Digging for Gold* (25 pp., $0.75), a pamphlet describing where to find gold and how to get it, covers all phases of gold mining, including some good material on skin-diving for gold. *Jade in California: A Guide for Fossickers and Mineral Collectors* (25 pp., $0.50) a useful and popular handbook on this semi-precious mineral, includes a fine bibliography and interesting illustrations. *The Mojave of the Colorado* (25 pp., $0.50) is the story of the Mojave Indians of the Colorado River and of their meetings with the explorers of the Southwest.

John and Lillian Theobald's research efforts have produced *Arizona Territory: Post Offices and Postmasters* (Phoenix, Arizona Historical Foundation. 178 pp., illus., biblio., index, $3.00), one of the truly exciting and carefully edited records of a most colorful era of Arizona's history. Covering the period 1863-1912, it is well indexed and arranged, and the selection of photographs indicate great care and planning. An extra bonus for the reader is included—that of a rare and fascinating pictorial history of Postal "Covers." This publication of the Theobalds marks the first publication of the foundation headed by Senator Barry Goldwater.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by William E. Holston

BOOKS

Ault, Philip H. *How to Live in California.* New York, Dodd, 1961. $3.95.

Berry, Don. *A Majority of Scoundrels.* New York, Harper, 1961. $8.95.

Cain, Ella M. *The Story of Early Mono County.* San Francisco, Fearon Publishers, 1961. $4.75.

Carrillo, Leo. *The California I Love.* Englewood, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1961. $7.50.

Douglas, William Orville. *Muir of the Mountains.* Boston, Houghton, 1961. $1.76.

Eyre, Alice. *The Famous Fremonts and their America.* Boston, The Christopher Publishing Co., 1961. $6.00.

Gressinger, A. W. *Charles D. Poston, Sunland Seer.* Globe, Arizona, Dale Stuart, 1961. $5.00.

Harmon, John B., Jr. *History of Carlsbad.* Privately printed, 1961.

Johnson, Kenneth M. *Jose Yves Limantour vs. the United States.* Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1961. $8.50.

Kroeber, Theodora. *Ishi in Two Worlds.* Berkeley, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1961. $5.95.

Lamott, Kenneth Church. *Chronicles of San Quentin.* New York, McKay, 1961. $4.95.

Lee, W. Storrs. *The Sierra.* New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962. $5.95.

A Look into Palm Springs' Past. San Bernardino, California, Santa Fe Federal Savings and Loan Association, 1961. Gratis.

Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. *Southern California Agriculture.* Los Angeles, the Chamber, 1961. $2.00.

Loth, John H. *Catholicism on the March, the California Missions.* New York, Vantage, 1961. $2.75.

Melcom, Alice K., ed. *California in Fiction.* Berkeley, California Library Association, 1961. $2.25.

Muir, John. *The Mountains of California.* Garden City, Anchor Books, 1961. $1.25.

Pearsall, Robert, and Ursula S. Erickson, eds. *The Californians: Writings of Their Past and Present.* San Francisco, Hesperian House, 1961. 2 vol. $10.00.

Ray, C. Lorin, ed. *Mementos of Bishop, California.* Bishop, Chamber of Commerce, 1961. $1.25.

Robinson, John, and Alfred Calais. *State Parks of California.* Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Co., 1961. $1.95.

Robinson, W. W. *The Story of San Fernando Valley.* Los Angeles, Title Insurance and Trust Co., 1961. Gratis.

Rowe, Leonard. *Preprimary Endorsements in California Politics.* Berkeley, Univ. of Calif., 1961. $2.00.

Rush, Philip S. *Beautiful San Diego County.* San Diego, Rush, 1961. $2.00.

Scott, Mel. *San Francisco Bay Area, a Metropolis in Perspective.* Berkeley, Univ. of Calif., 1961. $5.95.

Swanberg, W. A. *Citizen Hearst.* New York, Scribner's, 1961. $7.50.

Wheelock, Walt. *Angel's Flight.* Glendale, Calif., La Siesta Press, 1961. $1.00.

ARTICLES

Altman, Hal. "The Pioneer Jewish Community of Sacramento," *Far Westerner,* II (April, 1961).

Brown, Clayton. "Muckraking, 1961," *California Librarian,* XXII (Oct., 1961).

Bryan, Bruce. "The Manufacture of Stone Mortars," *The Master Key,* XXXV (Oct.-Dec., 1961).

Buxton, Frances and Sumika Yamashita. "Oakland: A Literary Retrospect," *California Librarian,* XXII (Oct., 1961).

Canlis, Michael N. "The Evolution of Law Enforcement in California," *Far Westerner,* II (July, 1961).

Carranco, Lynwood. "Chinese Expulsion from Humboldt Country," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXX (Nov., 1961).

Casey, Ann. "Thomas Starr King and the Secession Movement," *Historical Society of Southern California,* XLIII (Sept., 1961).

Clar, C. **Raymond.** "Pioneer Among the Argonauts," *The Pacific Historian,* V (Nov., 1961).

Ekman, Ernest. "A Southern California Booster Letter," *Historical Society of Southern California,* XLIII (Sept., 1961).

Fifield, Allen. "Wagons East Across the Sierra," *Historical Society of Southern California,* XLIII (Sept., 1961).

Hedgpeth, Nellie McGraw. "My Early Days in San Francisco," *The Pacific Historian,* V (Nov., 1961).

Jones, James P., and **William W. Rogers.** "Across the Isthmus in 1850: the Journal of Daniel A. Horn," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* XLI (Nov., 1961).

Klose, Nelson. "California's Experimentation in Sericulture," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXX (August, 1961).

Levy, Chuck. "Mistletoe: A Traditional Christmas Symbol Threatens California's Forests," *California Monthly,* LXXII (Dec., 1961).

Loofbourow, Leon L. "Saddle-bag Preachers in the Mother Lode," *Far Westerner*, II (April, 1961).

Nadeau, Remi. "The Water War," *American Heritage*, XIII (Dec., 1961).

Phillips, Jane. "The Foot and Mouth Epidemic in 1924," *Historical Society of Southern California*, XLIII (Sept., 1961).

Romer, Margaret. "Pioneer Builders of Los Angeles," *Historical Society of Southern California*, XLIII (Sept., 1961).

Rush, Philip S. "Historic Ranchos: San Bernardo," *The Southern California Rancher*, XXVI (Nov.-Dec., 1961).

Albert Shumate, m.d., *our new President*

CHS Award Winners. *Front row, left to right:* Francis Peloubet Farquhar, Fellow; Glen Dawson, Award of Merit; Dale Lowell Morgan, Fellow; Father Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Fellow. *Top row, left to right:* Award of Merit Recipients: John Carden Campbell, Anna Marie Hager, Everett Gordon Hager.

News of the Society

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE DIRECTOR FOR 1961

Presented at the Awards Banquet and Annual Meeting
Thursday, January 18, 1962, The Mansion, San Francisco

UNQUESTIONABLY the most important events of our year were the acquisition of Southern California headquarters and the purchase of a San Francisco building to house the Society's burgeoning library.

In March, 1961, the statewide nature of the California Historical Society was dramatically demonstrated when we occupied the former Charles F. Lummis home, El Alisal, at 200 East Avenue 43, Los Angeles, in the residential section known as Highland Park. El Alisal now serves the Society as headquarters for all Southern California activities and as office for the Society's Editor. Our use of El Alisal is made possible through the generosity of the Los Angeles Department of Recreation and Parks, its governing commission, and its manager, Mr. George Hjelte, whose cooperation insured that the entire transaction would be a most amiable one. El Alisal is open daily, and exhibits from the Society's collection—and from those of the Southwest Museum—are on view. In addition to the grand opening party in March, one Members' Meeting was held at El Alisal during the year, and the building served as headquarters for the December *Romería.* More statewide activities and augmented services to Southern California members are now possible.

We were equally fortunate in the past year to have found a solution to the Society's pressing library problem. At the Annual Meeting of the Society two years ago, in January, 1960, retiring President George L. Harding called attention to the rapid growth of our collections and emphasized the urgent need for increased space for the proper housing and display of the Society's materials. In March, 1960, Miss Edith W. Allyne, long a Patron Member of this Society, died, leaving an estate that has been appraised at $3,300,000, with this Society one of five legatees. A life interest in this estate rests with her sister, Miss Lucy H. Allyne, also a Patron Member of the Society for many years. Miss Lucy was born in 1873 and has been very ill for many months.

Mrs. Adolph Uhl, the former Mrs. John Charles Adams, who lived in the large house on the southeast corner of Pacific Avenue and Laguna Street, San Francisco, died in October, 1960. Mrs. Uhl's property abuts, in the rear, our lot at the northeast corner of Jackson and Laguna Streets. Having heard that none of Mrs. Uhl's children was interested in living in the house, we opened negotiations with the family for its purchase. These negotiations were successfully concluded in August, 1961, when, with funds borrowed from the Bank of California, N.A., secured by a lien against the Allyne legacy, Mrs. Uhl's property was purchased for $90,000.

It is the plan of the Society's Trustees to equip this newly acquired property to house our rapidly growing library. The firm of Campbell & Wong & Associates, Architects, has been hired to develop plans for the renovation and alteration of this house for that use. Our Library Committee and staff have been working closely with them, and we expect to call for bids on this work in the near future. With the library established in the former Uhl property, the Trustees of the Society hope to convert the second floor of The Mansion, now occupied by the library, into a gallery for the effective exhibition of our outstanding collection of paintings and lithographs. Thus the Society, which had existed in a succession of rented quarters from 1922 until The Mansion was purchased in 1956, now occupies two buildings held in the Society's name and has the exclusive use of a third. The past year was one of significant achievement in the face of very real problems.

MEMBERSHIP

During 1961 the Society accepted 500 new members, among whom were nine new Associate Members (California business institutions), Three Patron Members, 40 Sustaining Members, 419 Active Members, and 29 Student Members. In the same period there were 38 deaths of members reported, and 189 either resigned or were dropped for non-payment of dues. The net increase of membership was therefore 273 for a total membership in all categories of 3,279, nine per cent higher than at the end of 1960. Membership dues continue to produce two-thirds of the total revenue required for the Society's operation.

ACTIVITIES

For our members—and in many cases with their inestimable help—the Society chalked up a number of successes in 1961. Certainly the most profitable and doubtless the most memorable of the year's events was the "Night on the Barbary Coast" held September 11 in San Francisco. Cosponsored by the San Francisco *Chronicle*, this benefit produced net revenue of $9,825.18, which was divided equally between the Society's Exhibit Fund and The Mansion Fund (which helps meet the Society's budgeted deficit). The "Night on the Barbary Coast" was sufficiently successful that it will be repeated. Other successful fund-raising activities were the repetition of the Fort Tour and the December "Candlelight and Wine," which helped commemorate the centenary of California viticulture.

Marking historic sites remained an important Society activity, and during the year plaques were placed and dedicated in ceremonies on the sites of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, the Telegraph Hill semaphor, and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. The Society also undertook the formal dedication of the Ralston Room in the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco.

The Society's occasional Members' Meetings were held in San Francisco, Sonora, Los Angeles, and Coronado during the year, with U. S. Senator Thomas Kuchel the October speaker. *Romerías* were conducted to the Southern Mines and to Pala, San Pasqual, San Diego, and Dana Point in Southern California.

We began during 1961 a continuing program of guided walking tours within

San Francisco, with the aid of the California State Department of Employment and the Adult Education Division of the San Francisco Unified School District. This program offers to residents and visitors alike for a small fee the opportunity of taking a one or two-hour walk through areas particularly rich in history and of being conducted by informed and responsible guides. This new and promising program provides an important service.

In the early fall of 1961 the Society was honored to welcome to California and to serve as host for the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History, the first meeting on the West Coast for members of this distinguished organization of United States and Canadian historical societies.

LIBRARY ACQUISITIONS

Our collections continue to grow rapidly through numbers of gifts from friends and through purchases made possible by gifts to the Book of Remembrance and by successful semiannual auctions of duplicate and out-of-field volumes. Major additions of several thousand views and glass negatives have been made to our photographs collection, and the Southern Pacific Company presented an unusually significant collection of California and western U. S. maps. Gifts of manuscript materials have included a number of voyage and overland travel narratives, an area of collection in which our library is pre-eminent.

Acquisition through purchase has been unusually broad and varied. An increased staff in the new library building will eventually allow a frequent listing in print of the more important items as they are acquired. By means of the Library Fund, we have acquired several of the very rarest of California county histories, so that our holdings in this field will soon be of equal importance or greater than those of any other library.

The best reflection of increased numbers of gifts from friends and acquisitions by purchase is found in three bibliographies issued during the past year which reflect our holdings as compared with those of other libraries. Each of the following shows that our library, one of the very youngest, suddenly has assumed a rank of major importance in the field of California and western history:

1) The American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., issued its *Bibliography of American Directories Through 1860.* Our collections in this field are shown to be of comparable importance to those held by the Bancroft, the Huntington, and the California State Libraries.
2) *A Guide to American Trade Catalogs, 1744-1900,* published by R. R. Bowker and Co., New York, shows our collections of these business materials to be far larger in general scope than any other library listed west of the Mississippi River.
3) The most monumental work issued during the year was Robert Greenwood's *California Imprints, 1833-1862, a Bibliography,* showing exact locations of 1,750 items printed in California and found in 364 U. S. libraries. We hold 81 items not found elsewhere in the country. Our complete holdings of 335 items

is but 30 less than the total held by the California State Library, one of the oldest and largest institutions in the State. Our ability to acquire titles by gift from friends and by purchase is best illustrated by the fact that twenty years ago we held but 94 of the 335 titles now credited to us in this bibliography.

It seems obvious that we are the most actively growing historical library in the entire state, and that our Board of Trustees is more than justified in the purchase and renovation of the Uhl residence solely for library purposes.

PUBLICATIONS

Volume XL of the *California Historical Society Quarterly* was the first volume edited entirely by Dr. Manuel Servín, with the assistance of Mrs. Maude K. Swingle, and the level of scholarship attained by the journal has been generally commended. An innovation was the December number, completely devoted to commemorating the Civil War and California. Work is continuing on the Index to the first forty volumes of the *Quarterly*.

The California Historical Society "Notes," edited by William W. Whitney, have steadily become the major source of intelligence on historical activities throughout California and the best means of communication within our membership.

Because so considerable a portion of the Society's Publication Fund is currently in our inventory of publications, no books were published during 1961. Sales of publications are steady, however, and 1962 or certainly 1963 should see more publication activity as a consequence.

The Society did produce in 1961, with the Reynard Press of San Francisco as publisher, the very attractive "California Pictorial Lettersheets: 1849-1859." The novelty and authenticity of these reproductions were widely noted; the originals of these lettersheets are in the Society's collection.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

The professional activity of the Society's staff is of course of interest to the membership. Members of the staff have carried civic responsibilities and are making continual and noteworthy contributions to the field of California history.

As Director, my own schedule was full and personally satisfying. In all I travelled some 15,000 miles to participate in 159 meetings, to attend eleven municipal and legislative hearings, and to deliver twenty-one speeches and make seven television appearances in behalf of the Society. In one memorable week—not an average one—I was criticized with some vigor by experts for presenting and arguing the Society's position on historic-buildings preservation in a freeway controversy; was asked to (and did) impersonate Bret Harte in an historical pageant; and was commissioned to produce the first biographical article on the painter William Keith to be included in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The work of the Society continues and continues gratifying.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

As in past years, the accounts of the Society have been audited by Farquhar & Heimbucher, Certified Public Accountants. A copy of their report is available for examination at the office of the Society.

[Signed] Brantley M. Eubanks, *Treasurer*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Balance Sheet

December 31, 1961

Assets		
Cash – Commercial Accounts	$ 15,564.22	
Savings Account	69.40	
Office Revolving Fund	250.00	$ 15,883.62
Accounts Receivable – General Fund	832.72	
Publication Fund	169.92	
Library Fund	8.57	
Exhibit Fund	33.69	1,044.90
Inventories – General Fund	285.64	
Publication Fund	15,116.04	
Exhibit Fund	700.00	16,101.68
Prepaid Expenses		615.73
Real Estate – 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco	75,140.21	
2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco	93,888.45	169,028.66
Investment Securities		13,300.00
Borrowed Agency Funds		6,111.55
California Historical Society Trust Assets		98,914.15
		$321,000.29
Liabilities		
Accounts Payable	$ 10,575.53	
Notes Payable	105,000.00	
Accrued Taxes	790.27	
Prepaid Dues	715.00	
Total Liabilities		$117,080.80
Funds		
General Fund	$ 57,465.72	
Publication Fund	26,090.51	
Library Fund	3,381.89	
Exhibit Fund	4,754.66	
California Historical Trust Assets	98,914.15	
Agency Funds	13,312.56	
Net Assets		203,919.49
		$321,000.29

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

General Fund Income Statement

For the year ended December 31, 1961

Income		
Dues—Active and Student Members	$35,140.00	
Sustaining Members	10,980.00	
Patron Members	6,775.00	
Associate Members	6,400.00	$59,295.00
Contributions—General Fund	2,618.73	
Special Purposes	2,797.05	
Capital	13,300.00	18,715.78
"Quarterly" Advertising Revenue		1,965.00
Sales of "Quarterlies"		1,099.35
Sales of Prints		2,382.87
Interest Income		158.00
Mansion Fund Income		8,342.66
Endowment Income		4,430.13
Miscellaneous Income		418.30
Total Income		$96,807.09
Expenses		
Administrative Department	$15,260.18	
Business Department	19,364.58	
House Operations	4,677.82	
Public Relations Department	10,194.08	
Editorial Department	28,196.81	
Library Department	10,255.08	
Exhibit Department	4,319.11	
Southern California Headquarters	843.47	93,111.13
Special Purposes		224.73
Cost of Print Sales		1,921.18
Interest Expense		253.47
Capital Expenditures		3,194.95
Miscellaneous Expenses		68.45
Total Expenses		$98,773.91
Excess of Expenses Over Income—Deficit [*Note]		$ 1,966.82
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		$59,432.54
Fund Balance at End of Year		$57,465.72

*Note: If it were not for a contribution of Investment Securities, valued at $13,300 received during the year, the Deficit for the period would have been $15,266.82.

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the year ended December 31, 1961

Sales of Publications		$11,319.34
Less—Cost of Sales		8,119.50
Gross Profit From Sales		$ 3,199.84
Expenses		
Selling	$ 38.44	
Editorial	150.00	
Royalties	2,089.35	2,277.79
Net Profit From Sales		$ 922.05
Contribution to Publication Fund		1,250.00
		$ 2,172.05
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		$23,918.46
Fund Balance at End of Year		$26,090.51

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the year ended December 31, 1961

Income—Sales of Duplicate Materials	$ 2,392.60
Contributions	2,264.18
Total	$ 4,656.78
Less—Purchases of Library Materials	3,036.18
Net Increase in Fund	$ 1,620.60
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	$ 1,761.29
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 3,381.89

EXHIBIT FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the year ended December 31, 1961

Income—Sales of Duplicate Materials	$ 363.00
Contributions	285.00
Barbary Coast Event (Half of Net Proceeds)	4,917.59
	$ 5,565.59
Less—Purchases	1,808.79
	$ 3,756.80
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	$ 997.80
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 4,754.60

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1961 and 1962.

Established in 1945

1961

Bernice Barrows
Florence Green Bixby
Will M. Bliss
Ida Savage Bolles
Alice B. Bowen
Emerson Butterworth
Robert Gage Burmister
Harry Blyth Pickens Carden
Robert Edgar Cecil
Sue Jurika Cecil
Charles A. Christin
Margaret Scheld Cook
Clarence Coonan
Oscar Cooper
Sara Hathaway Dakin
Marshall Dill
Harry L. Evans
H. Rowan Gaither, Jr.
William T. George
Mabel Ray Gillis
Henrietta Holcomb Githens
Seward A. Griggs
Claire Parker Holdredge
George Henry Hotaling
Josephine H. Hooper
Walter Leroy Huber
Kirk B. Johnson
William S. W. Kew
Joseph R. Knowland, Jr.
Leonard Joseph Lea
William Harrison Leisk
Nathan Levin
James E. McConnell
Juanita Ghirardelli Magee
Edward F. Martin
Jack Maxfield
Frederick H. Meyer
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Percy L. Pettigrew
Inez Henderson Pond
Mildred Mallon Prince
Frederick Holberg Reimers
Frederick Caspar Rudolph
Rose Ann Hunter Rudolph
Alfred B. Saroni
Houghton Sawyer
Mary Jane Shattuck
Alfred M. Shearer
John Franklin Shuman
Ella Bissell Silvers
Hugh Ford Stewart, Jr.
Elinor Howard Stillman
Benjamin Prince Upham
Ruth Slack Zook

1962

Rayma Murphy Armstrong
Bess E. Bowen
Leo Carrillo
Oscar Cooper
Michael Harty
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Robert Joseph Servín
James Henry Willey
John R. Williams
Barbara Wolff

In Memoriam

Mabel Ray Gillis

Mabel Ray Gillis, State Librarian of California from 1930 to 1951, died in Sacramento on September 6, 1961, at the age of 78. No biographical memoir of her would be complete without beginning with her father, James L. Gillis, State Librarian of California from 1899 to 1917. A self-made man, a businessman turned librarian, it was he who changed the California State Library from a sacrosanct place used by state officials, members of the legislature, and a few residents of Sacramento to a busy center for library activities throughout the whole state.

From the beginning Mr. Gillis felt that every person in California had a right to library service whether he lived in a city, in a remote village or in the country. The county seemed to him to be the logical unit on which to base this state-wide service. Therefore legislation was passed setting up the county library system. A library was established in the county seat with branches and stations scattered over the county, each with its own collection of books. Books not available in the local branch library or station could be borrowed from the library at the county seat and if not available there, from the State Library. The all important thing was to get the books and information desired to the people who wanted them as quickly and easily as possible.

The men and women selected by Mr. Gillis to work with him on this state-wide library plan were very quickly imbued with his enthusiasm. Of course, many hours and weeks of hard work by many people made this county library plan the great success it is, but Mr. Gillis was always there to help and encourage. California's county library system has been copied across our country and has stimulated similar libraries in many foreign lands. It is a monument to a man with a vision.

After her graduation from the University of California and a year or two of teaching in the Sacramento City schools, Mabel Gillis joined the State Library staff in 1904. She worked in all the departments at various times, but her own particular department was the Books for the Blind which she, herself, established in 1911. It, too, gave service to the blind throughout the state. Under her guidance it became the largest library for the blind in the West.

In 1930 Miss Gillis was appointed State Librarian. During the twenty-one years she held this position she became more and more like her father. She inspired confidence and enthusiasm in those who worked with her. She was decisive and the reasons for her decisions were always clear. She was always a friend as well as an executive, ready to help in personal as well as professional matters. The State Library prospered and grew under her administration.

Many honors came to her. Mills College awarded her the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws as did the University of California at Los Angeles. She held the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from the California College in China, of which she was a trustee for many years. She was president of the California Library Association 1929-1930 and president of the National Association of State Libraries in 1935. The California Congress of Parents and Teachers made her a life member of that organization. Many other business and professional groups were proud to have her name on their membership rolls.

To those of us who worked with the Gillises, father and daughter, in the libraries of California during the first half of this century, this phrase seems to describe them and their work best: The Spirit of Service.

HELEN MARCIA BRUNER

PERCY LAWTON PETTIGREW

If there were giants in the Pioneer West, Percy Lawton Pettigrew was in fact their distinguished son. Born in San Francisco on July 22, 1879, he was a second generation Californian. His mother, Sarah Virginia Callahan, had been born on May 25, 1855, in Yreka where her father, Mathias B. Callahan, was conducting one of the varied enterprises he had started in the Gold Rush of '49. His father, whom he lost while young, was Charles Sanford Pettigrew.

Percy received his formal education at the Lick School of Industrial Arts and practical training under the guidance of his uncle, Henry Clay Callahan, mining engineer and an early Santa Clara University graduate. He accompanied Henry Callahan to Australia, at eighteen, and there acquired such mining and management knowledge that his uncle sent him to investigate mines for him in China, Mexico, Nicaragua, and South America. He drove a buckboard over "every mile of desert" in Nevada, rode throughout the Northern Mines of the Mother Lode, visited England and traveled across Siberia.

As he wrote of his own grandfather, Mathias Callahan, a man may best be understood against the background of the history of his times. Percy Pettigrew is a bright illustration of his own. Imaginative and open minded, with the optimism of a West growing from sailing ships to space probes, he took a constructive part in typical phases of California's development during all the 82 years of his life.

During the years immediately before and subsequent to the Earthquake and Fire of 1906, he engaged in contracting and building in San Francisco. He built and managed the Victoria Hotel which was destroyed by the Fire and rebuilt afterward. In 1919, in partnership with William Darsie and William Hutchinson, he commenced an extensive ranching and delta reclamation operation on the Sacramento River in which he remained active all his life. He was a Montgomery Street financier; served on various boards of directors connected with property management and the lumber industry, remaining on several until his death on June 22, 1961.

With his marriage in 1910 to Laura Doe he effected a happy alliance of two families which had been friends from schooldays. The home they built in Palo Alto in 1925, Casaquerida, was noted for its gracious hospitality to old and young. During the early years of his Palo Alto residence Percy served in local civic affairs. That he had constructive ideas in advance of his time is illustrated perhaps by the fact that he recommended one-way streets as a solution for Palo Alto traffic problems twenty years before this idea was adopted.

In spite of physical handicaps which increased with the weight of years, the vitality, humor, and unflagging interest in people which so charmed all ages remained unabated. Skilled as a craftsman, Percy designed and meticulously executed beautiful furniture and art objects for his friends and family. He maintained his interest and membership in the Commonwealth Club from 1918 on, and was an active member of the California Historical Society and of the Siskiyou Historical Society. He found time in his late 70's to do the extensive historical research and writing for a history of his grandfather Callahan, which is privately published.

To those who knew him, especially in his last years, Percy Pettigrew will always be an inspiration for his intellectual enthusiasm, humanity, and his persistent courage and gallantry.

He is survived by his daughter Nancy, Mrs. James S. Moser of Walnut Grove, and by three grandchildren.

MIRIAM E. DOE

WILLIAM TOWNSEND GEORGE

On June 5, 1961, William Townsend George suffered a heart attack at his home in Mendocino City and there, in the midst of his family—surrounded by giant Sequoia and within the roar of the vast Pacific—he passed away.

A native of Columbus, Ohio, he early heard the call of the West and with his two sons was publishing a weekly magazine in San Mateo County.

At the outbreak of World War I he volunteered, and left San Francisco as a member of the engineers attached to the Rainbow Division of the A.E.F., with the rank of first lieutenant.

He saw much active service and when the fighting was over, at General Pershing's suggestion, he organized a photo-lithographic plant which was declared by the "General of the Armies" to be twenty years in advance of his time.

The W. T. George Reproduction Company of San Francisco and Los Angeles was organized in these cities following the Armistice and has been moved twice due to increased space demands.

While a printer by profession, George was a cartographer at heart, owner of one of California's finest collections of early maps.

He loved the broad Pacific and maintained two small yachts until last winter's storms cut the number to one.

He leaves a widow, Mildred, a daughter, Mrs. Elaine Collins, two sons, Donald George and William C. George, and 13 grandchildren. He was 71 years old; a member of the California Historical Society, Commonwealth Club, American Legion, American Right of Way Association, and the Rainbow Division, World War I.

William T. George was buried in Holy Cross Cemetery, San Mateo County.

A. T. LEONARD, M.D.

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California's Embattled Settlers*

By PAUL W. GATES

LAND SEEKERS arriving in California after 1848—and after the first years of the gold rush most immigrants wanted land—found a most confused complex of seemingly insoluble problems facing them wherever they tried to obtain title to land. From San Diego to Shasta, in the coastal valleys, in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, and in the Bay region there were some eight hundred private land claims that called for between thirteen million and fourteen million acres of land. A heritage from the Spanish-Mexican period, these claims either had been granted or were alleged to have been granted to government officers, members of their families and supporters, for cattle ranches. Mostly they ranged in size from one to eleven leagues of 4,426 acres to the league. Accumulation of claims or grants had permitted individuals and families to acquire holdings of far greater size. More than half of the eight hundred claims were based on grants made in the years just preceding American control, eighty-seven of them being dated 1846, the year of the transfer. Most of those made in the forties had been given to intimates of officials in anticipation of the rise in land values expected to follow American control. War, the gold rush, and the withdrawal of laborers made improvements impossible for some time after 1846.

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*Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Huntington Library for a summer grant that made possible the research for this paper.

PAUL W. GATES, professor of history at Cornell University, is the immediate past president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. A recognized authority on American Land Policy, Professor Gates is the author of *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Harvard, 1934); *The Wisconsin Pine Lands of Cornell University* (Cornell, 1944); *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Cornell, 1954); and *The Farmer's Age* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961). He is also the author of numerous articles which have appeared in the *American Historical Review*, the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, the *Journal of Southern History*, the *Pacific Historical Review*, and the *Huntington Library Quarterly*.

When the backwash of population from the mines set in and disillusioned Californians turned to the land, not one of the claims had been surveyed—some had not even been located. Few had clearly established boundaries or extensive improvements, and on many there was no indication of use, save for the presence of small herds of cattle or sheep. It was to take years before the claims were adjudicated, their ownership clearly established, their boundaries located.[1]

Settlers pouring into California found no fences, no surveyor's corners. Aware of two long held traditions fundamental to American land policies—the right of pre-emption and the right of occupants to their improvements—they felt safe in searching out vacant and undeveloped land, moving upon it and devoting months, even years, to its improvements. Involved in the right of pre-emption was the right of squatters who settled upon vacant and unimproved land on which there were no other private rights to buy their tracts at the minimum price before the public auction was held. A corollary to the right of pre-emption was the occupancy right of a settler, who had improved land to which he had an imperfect title and who later lost his land when ejectment proceedings were brought against him by someone having a better title, to recover from the successful claimant the value of his improvements as assessed by a local jury, less deductions for damage to the land. Preemption is an ancient institution dating from colonial times and was early experimented with by the federal government in special acts. It was made general and prospective in 1841, and applied to unsurveyed land in certain areas in the early fifties. Similarly, occupancy rights were recognized by Virginia in the seventeenth century and despite a hostile Supreme Court decision in 1823 were firmly planted through the newer states by 1851. Rights that had been so generally recognized elsewhere would, American immigrants felt, surely be granted in California by state and federal legislation.[2]

Land for investment and land for improvement into farms was the lodestone which drew immigrants westward, eager to emulate the life story of affluent men in their home communities whose wealth had come from the rise in the value of landed property which they had had the wisdom to acquire early. It was this scramble for land which sent values up and transformed almost worthless Mexican claims into valuable possessions, particularly in the Bay region and in Santa Clara, Napa, Solano, Sonoma, Sacramento, and San Joaquin counties.[3] Here there were few signs of ownership in the way of improvements or fences; but, unfortunately, here also were concentrated many large claims. Some original owners were forced to dispose of their claims because of taxes, attorneys' and court fees, and their own extravagance. Other owners clung to their possessions, unwilling to break up the great ranchos, though the titles were becoming involved because of deaths, heirships, and wardships. In the Bay region the Mexican claimants seemed to be most persistent in refusing to sell, among them being the Peralta, Estudillo, Soto, Castro, Vallejo, De la Guerra, and Alviso families. They were only willing to lease, it was said.[4] But leasing would not give the tenants a share in the rising land values that everyone expected. Tenancy was rarely a satisfactory position for an American brought up on the assumption that land in the United States was cheap and that everyone should have a piece of it and a share in the prosperity the future was sure to bring.

Settlers swarmed over the slightly used claims of northern California and not finding boundaries, corners, surveyors' posts, or other evidence of ownership, assumed that the land would ultimately be surveyed and opened to pre-emption. In the resulting conflict between the landlords attempting to maintain their titles and the settlers hopeful of gaining ownership, bitterness developed that frequently degenerated into outright warfare on a small scale.

By the time the settler issue became one of the most bitterly controverted questions in California politics, the land seekers consisted of two groups: those who had been quite ignorant at the time they made their settlements of any adverse claims; those who, knowing of the possible existence of adverse claims, nevertheless made their settlements willfully, assuming that the claims were either fraudulent or that the United States government would not confirm grants of such large size without improvements and that the land would therefore become public domain and subject to the public land laws.[5]

Aggravating the problem of land rights was the fact that Congress moved slowly in establishing a board of land commissioners to investigate the claims, to reject those which did not conform to Mexican land law or were fraudulent, and to confirm those properly made and on which the conditions had been satisfied. The board in turn was tardy because of the frequent illness of its members, the turnover of the commissioners resulting from the Democratic victory in 1852, and the resignation of some of its members. Also, the frequent long absences of the judges of the district courts seriously slowed the work of adjudication.[6] Furthermore, the government provided a wholly inadequate staff and insufficient funds with which to accomplish the necessary research in the documents in California and in Mexico for the proper defense of cases. Since all the commissioners and the chief agent in charge of the preparation of the defense for the government were at the outset ignorant of the Spanish language and were poorly versed in the problems of claim law with which the United States had been grappling for half a century, it seemed unlikely whether the government's case would be effectively presented.[7] This is the more evident when it is considered that the two men most familiar wtih Mexican land law—Henry B. Halleck and William Carey Jones—became heads of law firms deeply involved in defending the claims, and indeed had large interests in a number of the most valuable of them. Furthermore, in addition to Halleck and Jones, both extremely able advocates, there were some fifty other attorneys specializing more or less in claim law. Two critics wrote of this situation in 1856:

> The United States Government furnished a law Agent and Assistant, to resist on the part of the Government every claim, and these number 813, with an average of two lawyers to each case in opposition to the two Law Agents.

The agents could do little more, it was brought out, than cross-examine the witnesses of the claimants.[8]

As the land commission and the district and Supreme courts of the United States slowly waded through the piles of documents presented in evidence to prove the validity of the claims, it became apparent that there was a tendency to favor confirming claims even when there were grave questions concerning them. This was particularly true of the two higher courts. Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General of the United States, charged in 1858 that the rights of the government had been placed "in extreme jeopardy" by blatant fraud "so artfully got up" that the tribunals had been "induced to look upon them with a certain degree of allowance and even of favor."[9] Not only did the district court appear to disregard or minimize evidence of fraud and perjury on occasion, but the federal Supreme Court abandoned well-established precedents which required that the utmost vigilance be exercised in determining whether the grantees of incomplete claims had conformed to all the requirements of the law of the governments making the grants.[10]

Settlers learning that their improvements might be within the boundaries of claims became alarmed at the course the law was taking, and began a drumfire of condemnation of the grants. Taking an extreme legalistic position, it was possible for them to argue that the courts were acting too leniently, indeed unwisely, in leaning over backward to concede rights to claimants in dubious cases. They demanded strict interpretation of rights and rigid insistence on complete conformity to the requirements for a legal title to prevent rank injustice and the establishment of a concentration of land ownership not to be found elsewhere in the United States.

With the decisions going against the settlers on many of the claims, it was apparent that help was needed from Congress and from the California legislature, and more funds were essential to secure abler attorneys to combat the skillful defense of the claimants. There was also a question concerning the integrity of the law agents. At least one government attorney defended the government side unsuccessfully when he had a personal interest in securing an adverse decision, and another representative of the government was accused of being largely interested in a number of San Francisco claims.[11]

To accomplish their objectives the settlers, through the few newspapers friendly to them and through representatives in the state legislature and Senator Gwin in Washington, slowly amassed their strength and expressed their will. They wanted settlers whose improvements were found to be on confirmed private claims to be given title to their improvements and the owners of the claims to be granted compensation elsewhere, or in lieu of that they wanted protective measures that would recognize their occupancy rights. Also, they wanted Congress to extend to them the same free land policy it had already given settlers in Oregon, and they wanted restrictions written into the land laws that would reserve land suitable for agriculture for settlers only.

Senator William Gwin in California and Governor John Bigler in California became the chief spokesmen of the settlers in their efforts to gain recognition of what they regarded as their rights. Gwin was much influenced by the 1849 report of Captain Henry W. Halleck on the land claims in which stress had been laid on the doubtful character of many of the claims, particularly those not specifically located and having no clearly established boundaries, no development, and which had been granted in the very closing days of the Mexican regime.[12] Gwin suspected that many of the grants had been antedated or were otherwise based on fraudulent documents. His sympathies seemed to be for the time, whether solely for political reasons is not important, with the "hardy, industrious emigrants" who on their small tracts made intensive improvements which gave them superior equity to their land. His background experience in Kentucky, Mississippi, and Louisiana had acquainted him with the problem of settlers who, after years of toil in improving their tracts, were defeated in ejectment proceedings but, under the occupancy laws, were allowed the value of their improvements minus rents from the time when action was completed. He was familiar with the cases concerning private land claims that had reached the Supreme Court from other states and with the precedents the Court had established in dealing with the many knotty problems, particularly the nature of the title required for confirmation. He had participated in drafting the Land Act of 1851 which provided for the establishment of the land commission and the procedure it was to follow in adjudicating the claims. In drafting the measure he had tried to make sure that care would be taken in judging the "incomplete cattle range concessions," with their "ill-defined, vagrant or floating limits," as he called the claims, to eliminate all that was fraudulent and incomplete. Though not entirely successful in 1851 in securing the protection he deemed necessary for the settlers' interests, for there was keen opposition to his settler oriented views from Benton and others more sympathetic to the claimants of large tracts, he had succeeded in including a provision in the act that confirmation by the commission would "not affect the interests of third parties." In this way he had saved settlers' rights for further adjudication.[13]

The following year Gwin returned to the fray with a bill to confirm settlers' pre-emptions up to eighty acres on the claims where their equities justified it and to grant the claim owners equivalent land elsewhere.[14] Since 1806 Congress in a long series of measures had been giving equivalent land to Spanish, French, and English grantees or their assignees or heirs whose claims had earlier been taken up and mistakenly patented to others. Indeed, at the very time Gwin was speaking, Congress was considering a number of bills to grant scrip to claimants on whose lands in Louisiana and Missouri pre-emptions had been permitted and patents had been issued.[15] Possibly the Gwin bill did not include adequate safeguards against settlers establishing their claims on such land as the claimants themselves had improved, but the scrip legislation then being considered and enacted gave no consideration to the question of improvements or, for that matter, to the quality of the land. There was little that was different in the Gwin bill save that it would assure settlers on claims their small improvements and the claim owners compensation in land elsewhere before any patents had issued to either group. With considerable foresight Gwin warned members of Congress that unless his measure was adopted there would be fierce contests and probably open warfare between the settlers and the claimants.[16]

Although there was nothing particularly radical or new in the Gwin proposal, it ran into strong opposition in California where recent investors in the claims were well prepared to defend their interests. The Whig convention denounced the bill as an attempt to rob citizens of their property. The *Herald* and the *Alta California* of San Francisco (where owners of lots either unimproved or but slightly developed were having a rough time with squatters who tore down their fences, destroyed their no-trespassing signs, and erected shacks upon them for homes) expressed contempt for the settlers and called them mere highwaymen engaged in "high handed robbery" and a lot of shiftless speculators who did little or nothing to improve the land on which they squatted.[17] A blistering attack on Gwin's bill was published by a "Citizen," presumably William Carey Jones for the language resembles his hard hitting rhetoric, his hatred of anyone and anything that retarded or made difficult the process of confirming the Mexican claims. The author speaks of the "cruelty and outrage" involved in the bill, of the execrations being rained upon it, and of "the profoundest depths of infamy to which Gwin had stooped that "begrime your political character already sufficiently blackened."[18]

Gwin himself was no mean hand at libelous remarks, but he was no match for "Citizen." The California reaction to the bill, the fact that his Democratic colleague from California, John Weller, declared in opposition, and the negative report of the Senate Committee on Public Lands led Gwin to give up the fight and the bill was tabled.[19]

Two other settler-oriented bills sponsored by Gwin became law on March 3, 1853. The first extended pre-emption to settlers who were then upon, or who later took up, land on private claims which were subsequently declared invalid by the Supreme Court. This measure was to give hope unduly and unfortunately to settlers on many California claims. The second measure granted for one year the privilege of pre-emption to settlers on unsurveyed land in California.[20] Subsequently, in the midst of excitement over the invalidation of the Occupancy Law in 1857, Gwin was attacked for including a provision in this act of March 3, 1853, barring pre-emption to settlers on land claimed under a foreign grant. Possibly the inclusion of this provision was a tactical error, but there was doubt that a grant of pre-emption on the claims would stand a court test.[21]

The difficulty of surveying land in the vicinity of Mexican claims was so great owing to the unsettled boundaries and the slowness with which the claims were adjudicated and their surveys finally approved (many claims were not finally surveyed and patented until the 1870's and 1880's) that only through pre-emption could settlers be protected in their improvements.[22] The special pre-emption act of 1853 and its extension in 1854 were approved without vocal opposition. After 1853 Gwin contented himself with participation in the movement for the adoption of a homestead bill which was, however, unsatisfactory to land reformers, for it did not provide for *free* land. Politics and Gwin's obligations to the "chivalry" wing of the Democratic party forced him to oppose homestead by 1859, as did Senators Bright, Fitch, and other administration Democrats from the North.[23]

Meantime, a strong Whig effort was being made to halt the costly and long drawn out litigation over the claims and to make possible the determination of what was and was not public domain subject to pre-emption. William Carey Jones, son-in-law of the redoubtable Thomas Hart Benton and married to a sister of Jessie Benton Frémont, had been appointed by President Polk in 1849 as agent to procure information on California land titles. In that capacity he had argued that the claims or grants of the Spanish-Mexican period were mostly "perfect titles," and those which were not perfect had "the same equity" as those which were perfect. Jones had favored the Frémont method of speedy confirmation of all claims but had been overruled by those more familiar with the history of land claim legislation. The Act of 1851 he thought unduly harsh in its requirements that owners should have to prosecute their claims through the commission, the district court, and possibly the Supreme Court.[24] In 1854 and 1855 Jones was in Washington representing two of the most important claims before the Supreme Court which, with two others, he won.[25] In March, 1855, he revived his efforts to hasten the process of adjudication of the claims. He lobbied for a bill, of which he may have been author, that would have authorized patenting all claims when they were confirmed by any of the four courts, the board of land commissioners, the district courts of northern and southern California, and the Supreme Court of the United States. Like Frémont, Jones had interests in a number of claims, chief of which was the giant twelve league San Luis Rey and Pala grant in San Diego County. Furthermore, as attorney for a large number of claim owners, he was deeply involved in pressing their rights in the courts. When the Supreme Court was leaning strongly in the direction of reinterpreting, and in fact abandoning previous precedents in the litigation of private land claims, Jones published in Washington a *Letter to the Attorney General* in which he attempted to instruct him in the meaning of the Frémont and Ritchie cases and urged that all land claims favorably decided by the land commission should be dropped as decided and that the district court be instructed to reverse cases determined unfavorably, thus ending all further litigation and bringing to a happy end the "groundless litigation and its attendant evils."[26]

The House bill to hasten the process of litigation and patenting the land claims was essentially a revival of the Frémont bill of 1851. It would have excluded Jones' Pala grant of twelve leagues, for it was not to apply to grants in excess of eleven leagues; but Jones at the moment could feel confident that his grant was on the road to final confirmation since it had already passed its first hurdle. Whig advocates of the measure were troubled fearing that the bill would assure confirmation of the Limantour claim, so notoriously fraudulent that even the most property conscious Californians regarded it as certain to be rejected on appeal from the unwise decision of the commission. There were other claims almost equally certain to be rejected on appeal, as James W. Denver, Democratic representative, well stated.[27] Despite efforts to make the measure more palatable by amendments to exclude the Limantour, Luco, and Iturbide claims, Denver succeeded in puncturing the Whig arguments in behalf of the bill and in defeating it.[28]

While Gwin was abandoning the battle in Washington for settlers' rights on the claims, in California advocates of occupancy laws were beginning their drive to protect settlers in the value of their improvements. The election of 1851 had shown the strength of the settlers, who had supported John Bigler and the Democratic party from which they expected aid—support that had counted significantly in Bigler's victory.[29] A bill to grant occupancy rights was reported back from the Judiciary Committee by Archibald Peachy (member of the law firm of Halleck, Peachy, and Billings, which was to have a major share in the defense of the claims) with the recommendation that it not be passed on the ground that it was in conflict with common law, would be productive of litigation and infringement of the rights of property, and was unconstitutional.[30] Notwithstanding this report the legislature adopted a possessory act, sometimes called a "state pre-emption law," to protect settlers on public lands who made two hundred dollars worth of improvements and filed an affidavit in the recorder's office after which they could be absent from the land for a year without losing their rights.[31] In 1853 Governor Bigler declared his opposition to the inclusion of any mineral lands within private claims and recommended the prompt interposition of the state before the federal courts to prevent confirmation of a decision made by the land commission, presumably in the case of Frémont's claim to Mariposa. To speed up the adjudication of the claims he urged that the land commission be abolished and cases be taken directly into the federal courts. Free land to actual settlers he thought a major need, but he said nothing about an occupancy measure at this time.[32] Such a bill was introduced, however, and elicited considerable discussion in which its opponents found it good tactics to denounce the lawlessness and violence of intruders on the Mexican claims. Such opponents always used the term "squatter" as one of opprobrium, or as we would say as a dirty word, and so it has been ever since in most historical writing in California whereas elsewhere squatter has no such connotation. The *Alta California* conceded as much but tried to draw a distinction between settlers who seized privately owned land "to harass the owners into buying them out," and settlers on public land.[33]

Rumblings of settler unrest broke out into bloodshed when claimants resorted to ejectment action to rid large holdings of "squatters." In 1853 a claimant was shot in Sonoma County; a sheriff with a posse and a large cannon was attacked by a group of settlers in Santa Barbara County, one man was killed and the sheriff was knifed; settlers in San Mateo County were angry with the commission for its confirmation of the Pulgas claim and threatened to resist any action to eject them; bitter clashes occurred on the Sutter claim next to Sacramento; and near open warfare developed between thirty-five masked settlers and the sheriff and his posse in Napa County. Elsewhere in Alameda and Santa Clara counties friction between settlers and claimants was common.[34]

The settler movement was becoming a major political issue that no aspiring or incumbent office holder could afford to ignore, and in 1854 Governor Bigler found it desirable to declare in favor of an occupancy law similar to those most states had on their statute books. In line with this recommendation, an assemblyman from Santa Clara County introduced a bill that would concede occupancy rights to settlers claiming no more than 160 acres which, when they entered upon it, was wild and unimproved and appeared to have no title adverse to the government. If ejectment proceedings were brought against such settlers they would be entitled, if defeated, to have a jury determine the value of their improvements which the successful litigants were to pay and no man holding a Mexican title was to sit on the jury of evaluation. The *Alta California* of February 14, 1854, thought the bill a well devised scheme of robbery of one class for the benefit of another but agreed that a less one-sided occupancy law was desirable. Need for action was demonstrated by the *Alta* comment of February 11, 1854, on the famous Peralta claim of fifteen leagues in the Oakland-Alameda region. Three hundred people claimed portions of the grant by conveyance from the Peralta family; others held under Castro; and fifteen hundred settlers were said to be on the land, mostly without any title.[35]

Still another factor was complicating an already wildly confused title and settler-claimant controversy. The federal Act of March 3, 1853, extending the pre-emption privilege to settlers on land claimed by Mexican grantees—the title to which was later declared invalid—was given publicity by land officers in 1854.[36] On claims rejected by the Supreme Court, actual or prospective settlers could, if the law meant anything, have their 160 acre improvements patented to them at the price of a dollar and a quarter an acre. Unfortunately, many types of land claims other than pre-emptions had to be considered on the grants that were held invalid—among them state education and swamp land selections which might have been sold to speculators—and some of them were entitled to precedence over the claims of settlers. The register's statement was not inaccurate, but American land law was becoming amazingly complex, particularly in California, and the promise of 1853 was to turn to ashes for many settlers.

In 1855 the legislature did make one move toward aiding settlers. Adverse possession laws had long been useful to settlers on land claimed by absentee owners who made no improvements, neglected their taxes, and after years of near abandonment tried through court action to recover possession when their holdings were acquiring value. Settlers who could show continued, actual, and exclusive possession and who had met the taxes on the land for seven to twenty years could at the end of the required time claim absolute title.

In 1850 California had prescribed conditions for bringing action under adverse possession. Settlers having made "substantial enclosures" and "usually cultivated or improved" the land though they had no color of title might be regarded as having good title after five years. An Act of April 11, 1855, seemed to make the statute applicable to Mexican grants.[37]

Delay in determining titles discouraged both owners and settlers from making improvements and seriously retarded the development of the state. The *California Farmer* declared that the entire country was suffering, "families are suffering; emigration is stayed [and what could be worse to a Californian] from our shores, and all stimulus is lost." Failure of the legislature to enact an occupancy law in 1854 and 1855 consequently led that journal to offer its own proposal to deal with title controversies and settlers' rights.[38] The *Farmer* considered itself neutral, as between claimants and settlers, and thought its formula reflected that neutrality, but at the same time it encouraged the making of improvements. The plan called for the election of a board of reference to be composed of the best men of the state who could appraise the improvements made by the occupant in the event the title was confirmed to the claimant, and that the appraisal be paid by the claimant to the occupant.

The integrity of the members of the board, the certainty of their fairness, and the knowledge that justice would be done, the *Farmer* thought, would encourage occupants to proceed with their improvements and would enhance the value of the claims. If the claimant's title was rejected, the settler could then enter the land—as settlers elsewhere were doing—and of course have the value of their improvements. Actually, the proposal differed little from the conventional occupancy laws in operation for two hundred years in the United States except that the appraisal of improvements was to be made by the board of reference which might not be a local body and might not therefore be as favorable to the occupants as would a local jury.

Governor Bigler continued to urge the need for legislation on occupancy rights, stressing that other public land states had long since adopted such measures. In 1856 he held that in California where there was "so much uncertainty as to *lines* and *titles*, errors in location must necessarily often occur, and there certainly should, therefore, be provision made for the security of the *bona fide* settler in such cases." A fully prepared and well-guarded act would produce a feeling of security, "settle existing disputes, and prevent future difficulties and controversies" respecting titles. Persons subject to swift ejectment would not make permanent improvements, and those who had made substantial improvements thinking they were on public land surely deserved to recover the value thereof in ejectment. Bigler took issue with the view advanced by the claimants, their lawyers, and the newspapers reflecting their position that settlers were a disorderly, lawless, rowdy, and drunken people. He believed them to be "the most stable, enterprising and permanent of the population of a new State, and come hither with their families to surround themselves . . . with the manifold blessings and endearments of home." Here he was distinguishing between the squatter element in San Francisco and Sacramento who persisted in removing fences and warning signs on urban lots and putting up their crude shacks as evidence of squatter claims, and settlers who hoped to gain pre-emption rights.[39]

Excitement over settlers' rights reached a high point in 1855 and 1856. A settler convention met in Sacramento for two days in August, 1855, at which threats were made to establish a settler party unless the Democrats and Whigs paid more attention to their needs. The convention resolved that all laws ought to favor the actual possessor who occupied land peaceably and without fraud, that claimants' and settlers' rights should be settled in the courts; and it demanded that settlers if ejected be allowed the value of their improvements. The resolutions were taken back by the members to their communities where signatures were to be secured, and were then to be forwarded to the legislature.[40]

The action of the courts in their generous confirmation of claims, particularly the approval of five debatable claims (Frémont, Cruz Cervantes, Ritchie, Limantour, and Bolton and Barron) aroused great indignation and strengthened the feeling that the entire process of adjudicating the claims was working badly. Influential business men in San Francisco, badgered by intrusions upon their speculatively held lots by squatters whom they found it difficult to eject, looked down their noses at all settlers or squatters until they found themselves virtually in the same position by the decisions in the Bolton and Barron case involving ownership of 10,186 acres and in the Limantour case involving a four league claim, all in San Francisco County. On announcement of the confirmation of the Bolton and Barron claim, shares in it skyrocketed to $5,000, and persons having improvements on the claim were frightened at the prospect of having to buy their land a second time at the current inflated values. For the moment merchants in San Francisco and settlers on claims in rural areas saw eye to eye. A meeting of owners of improvements on the Bolton and Barron tract voted to raise funds with which to carry the case to the Supreme Court and to join with the Settlers' League throughout the state in elections to secure officers favorable to their position. Auguste Jouan, an associate of Limantour in the fabrication of his giant claim, stated that he was offered $50,000 by San Francisco property holders to provide the evidence that might defeat the city claim to a pueblo grant.[41] When it was rumored that a former member of the commission was seeking the post of United States District Attorney, in which he would have full charge of the defense of the government's case in the land claims, the California assembly urged by a vote of forty-six to three that he not be appointed because he was biased against the government side by previous engagements.[42] The assembly went further in another resolution, pointing out that not only had many farmers settled upon land now claimed under Mexican grants but that entire towns and cities were being built upon lands thus claimed and that to dispute and disarrange rights generally conceded would entail endless confusion, heavy costs, and outright conflict.

Three of these debatable decisions were reversed by Ogden Hoffman, Federal District Judge for Northern California, to whom important questions concerning land claims were carried on appeal. Hoffman was held in high repute as a lawyer and judge, and settlers could take heart from these decisions, for they seemed to assure a more critical examination of the legal base of the claims than the commission was affording.[43] Settlers hopes were soon dashed, for in 1855 the Supreme Court reversed Hoffman in the Frémont and Cruz Cervantes cases and upheld him in the Reading case, thereby establishing broadly liberal precedents that virtually rewrote Mexican law and applied this revision retroactively to California grants.[44] The commission and the Supreme Court, as was implied in the dissenting opinion in the Frémont case and in later decisions of both the state and federal courts, in confirming these large grants, the conditions of which had not been fulfilled, were reversing long held precedents concerning the need for complete title papers in conformity with the laws of Spain, France, or England.[45] To avoid further effects from this reversal and from the shocking weakness of the government defense, the legislature called for an amendment to the Act of 1851 that would prevent the location of all floating grants, such as Frémont's Mariposa claim, on occupied land and take from the United States surveyors discretion in locating the grants. The resolution also asked that additional and competent counsel be engaged by the government in the defense of its title where antedated, incomplete, spurious, and unimproved grants were up for consideration.[46]

The settlers' agitation gained its major objective with the adoption of a bill on March 26, 1856, for the protection of settlers and to quiet titles. This measure had all the earmarks of occupancy laws which other states had been enacting and strengthening ever since 1797, when Kentucky wrote its first measure; and in addition it had some unique features caused by the chaotic title situation in California. Persons having better titles (Mexican grant) to land on which a settler was established if successful in an action of ejectment were liable for the value of the improvements the settler had made and for the growing crops on the land unless they could maintain that the grant in question had been surveyed, the boundaries distinctly marked, and the field notes of the survey filed in the recorder's office.[47] Thus far the bill met the views of settlers. But the deletion of another section before adoption shows speculator influence in the legislature.

Congress had granted a number of million acres of potentially valuable land to the state as swamp, school, and school lieu lands for the management and sale of which legislation was necessary. There was widespread interest in these lands and their possibilities, and already individuals and groups were moving to acquire large quantities of them. The swamp and overflowed lands, in particular, should have received careful consideration before action was taken concerning them. The record of other states in dealing with similar donations of swamp lands was lamentably bad; and California, having the advantage of this earlier experience, might have profited from it. Such was not to be the case, however. Anti-monopoly forces proposed in Section 12 of the settler bill to limit sales of state land to 160 acres to any person, but the provision was struck out. In later legislation loopholes were provided that were to make possible almost unlimited concentration of ownership through acquisition of state lands. One settler uttered a plaintive cry that, having failed to acquire rights on a private claim and having lost his improvements, he had then sought public land outside the claims and had taken up and fenced 160 acres and entered the tract with a military warrant only later to be told that it had been acquired by the state as part of the 500,000 acre grant for internal improvements and in turn sold to another who ordered him off the land.[48]

The occupancy measure, even when shorn of its antimonopoly feature, was still a bitter dose for many members of the legislature to swallow. Objections were made that it was unconstitutional, and the conservative tendencies of many members were revealed by their efforts to weaken it by amendment. Settler influence was too strong, however, and members rushed to be recorded for it on the final vote, which was fifty-one to seventeen in the assembly and sixteen to nine in the senate. Leaders of the opposition were Pablo de la Guerra, whose family had 374,000 acres in claims confirmed to it, and José María Covarrubias, whose Castaic and Catalina Island claims, amounting to 68,000 acres, were confirmed.[49]

The measure was immediately challenged in the state courts and reached the California supreme court in the January term of 1857. Chief

Justice Murray, in his search for doctrine to justify striking down the act, reverted to an old, somewhat discredited, and generally abandoned decision of Justice Bushrod Washington of 1823, involving the occupancy laws of Kentucky. Only three out of seven judges had agreed the Kentucky laws were unconstitutional, one had dissented, and three had abstained from participation. Never again had the Supreme Court used this decision as a justification for invalidating the many occupancy laws adopted thereafter, and Kentucky had openly flouted the decision, calling it of no effect in Kentucky courts. Furthermore, in 1873, the United States Congress was to adopt a measure which gave occupants found not to be rightful owners the same privilege in federal courts that local statutes gave them in state and territorial courts. No case decided by the Supreme Court had been so completely overturned by state legislation and state courts, by failure of the federal courts to make use of the case, and finally by the unchallenged act of Congress extending the coverage of federal courts to occupants as *Green* v. *Biddle*.[50]

The Chief Justice came to the nub of the case by showing that the principal difference between the California statute and those of other states was that most occupancy laws required that a settler should have a color of title in the form of a grant, deed, or tax title to enable him to recover damages in ejectment whereas the California statute assured him damages if the successful claimant had failed to survey and mark out his boundaries clearly and file the survey.[51] The Chief Justice could not see that many California settlers, certainly not the "squatters" who rudely destroyed boundaries in San Francisco, had "entered innocently upon lands" and deserved the protection of the law. Murray was convinced that the California law authorized "one man to intrude upon the lands of another," and he appeared to think it offered "a premium to fraud and violence." He was troubled by the retrospective character of the law, though similar laws throughout American development would have had little significance if they had not been permitted to apply retrospectively. In striking down the measure, the Chief Justice referred sentimentally to the "early pioneers" whose health, welfare, and happiness he was deeply concerned about but made no effort to apply that concern to innocent settlers who had taken up unmarked, unimproved, unsurveyed land, and developed it with years of labor.[52]

Justice David Terry dissented in a well-reasoned opinion that showed familiarity with the history of occupancy legislation and the need in California for such a statute. He emphasized that the majority had found nothing in the Constitution of the United States or in the treaty with Mexico that was in conflict with the statute, offered numerous precedents for upholding it, and deplored the tendency of the court to base its decision on natural justice. The right to enter and establish a preemption claim upon unsurveyed federal lands, a right which had been given special protection by the California Possessory Act of 1852, induced many immigrants to settle upon lands which had "never been surveyed or occupied, nor in any manner segregated from the public domain. Nor was there any evidence within their reach to show that such lands were claimed by any private citizen." Terry questioned whether "it would be a greater violation of natural justice to deprive hundreds of citizens and their families of homes . . . without making any compensation for the improvements" than it was to permit them to retain their improvements and pay the claimant for the land.

Settlers had come to expect adverse decisions from the courts; and in 1857, after their defeat at the hands of Chief Justice Murray, they tried to influence judicial nominations to secure friendly candidates.[53] Almost everywhere the judges showed willingness to issue ejectments orders and sheriffs to carry out the orders even though large posses had to be organized at considerable expense, and bloodshed seemed certain. Judges had only to interpret law in relation to constitutional rights; and if they appeared to favor property rights against human rights in the claim disputes, they generally had no alternative because of judicial precedents and the fact that equity jurisdiction was not involved, or could not seemingly be invoked.

Judges could and did protect the interests of settlers, notably in the Luco claim for more than a quarter of a million acres in Solano County. The claim was submitted after the deadline for receiving claims had passed, but the prominence of its supporters induced Congress to make special provision for its late submission.[54] It was then rejected by the land commission and by Judge Hoffman in a stinging decision intimating that practically every official of the Mexican government in California who survived into the American period had perjured himself to support a spurious claim.[55] Settlers on the tract, still fearing that some way might be found to confirm the claim, met and petitioned Congress that if the claim were confirmed, it be located on unsurveyed land since land office officials had first declared the tract open to pre-emption and later reversed that statement only after many equities had been established on the land.[56] The Supreme Court could find no reason to doubt that the Luco claim was "false and forged" and cast doubt on the testimony of the late officers of the government of California in behalf of it.[57] A settler organ, less generous than the Court, called the native Californians, including two former governors, land swindlers and perjurers and suggested that they should be convicted of perjury and sentenced to San Quentin.[58] The relief of the settlers at the final determination of the Luco case in 1859 was doubtless great, but there still remained the question whether the rights of those who had taken up land within the area included in the Luco claim before the commissioner had ordered them withdrawn from entry would now be recognized.

The fact that Congress had been induced to enact special legislation in the Luco case, that the Supreme Court denied settlers the right to bring before it for reconsideration decisions that seemed to them patently wrong, and that the supreme court of California had struck down an occupancy law such as most western states had on their statute books appeared to lend support to the view that government, whether in the hands of Democrats, Americans or Whigs, was indifferent, if not hostile, to the needs of settlers. The Whiggish Sacramento *Union* and the Democratic Sacramento *Bee* both charged that settlers had been misled into supporting the Democratic party which had promised much over and over again but delivered nothing but an unconstitutional law that was to have no standing in the courts. The *Union* maintained that the author of the bill had submitted it in advance to a member of the supreme court who had assured him that it was in violation of the constitution and would be struck down in the first case that came before it.[59] The *Union* went on to declare that the entire claim question had been badly handled from the drafting of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo when the very serious error was committed of including a provision guaranteeing that "property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans shall be inviolably respected." This virtually made certain that any law designed to protect settlers on the claims would be found in violation of the treaty, if not the constitution. The second major blunder was in the framing of the federal Pre-emption Act of 1853 for California which excluded the unsurveyed, unlocated, and poorly bounded claims from its provisions. Better might the *Union* have argued, that pre-emption be permitted on unsurveyed and unbounded claims, and that if the claims were confirmed and found to include pre-emption improvements, the owners be given scrip in compensation to be located elsewhere. The *Union* went even further in stating that the best way to have dealt with the claims at the time of the transfer of territory would have been for the United States to have taken over the claims after allowing the grantees a section for homesteads and paying them for their other rights at the going price which was little more than a few cents an acre at the most. This would have avoided all the controversies between settlers and claimants, the *Union* held.

With more foresight from Gwin and less selfish personal interest on the part of Frémont, abetted by Jones and Benton, it might have been possible for Congress to have avoided the worst of the title conflicts in California by providing that only grants fulfilling all obligations of the Mexican land system should be confirmed, that all other claimants should have settlers' rights to land they had improved, and that all the balance of their claims should become public domain. If Congress had rigidly required a strict interpretation of the grants, many of them would have been rejected and at no loss to the owners, for they had made no improvements at all on the grants given in 1845 and 1846. As a further step toward adjusting the Mexican land system to the American economy, the government might have offered to buy the vacant and unimproved land in the claims with good titles at the going price of 1848 or 1850. Such an offer, if accepted, as doubtless it would have been by some of the always impecunious grantees, would have contracted to a small figure the area in confirmed and patented grants. Enlightened Congressional leadership combined with abler defense of the government title to the claims in the early fifties and more respect for precedent by the Supreme Court was needed. The worst injustice resulting from the involved California land litigation was not that some claimants were put to great expense in defending their rights and that many lost their inflated and undeveloped claims, but that some persons who *had* made considerable improvements on their claims, but had not succeeded in completing all those required before the final title under Mexican law, and who therefore could not prove title, lost all their improvements without a pre-emption or homestead right. In this respect and in this only the California Land Act of 1851 accorded less generous treatment to Californians than was given residents of other territories at the time they were transferred to American control.

County settler meetings were followed by a state meeting in Sacramento at which it became evident the settlers were not all of one mind. Democratic, Republican, and American party lines crossed; and the Democratic group prevailed, to such an extent that delegations from rural counties, feeling that urban groups and urban settlers or squatters in San Francisco, Alameda, and Sacramento counties were in control and were concerned more with the Democratic party than with settler issues, withdrew. Speakers at the convention opposed land monopoly in swamp tracts as well as in Mexican claims, favored "jumping" or squatting upon the swamp lands whether sold to speculators or still in the hands of the state, and urged legislation to abolish mesne profits in case of ejectment and to give settlers a lien on land on which they had paid taxes but later lost through ejectment. With considerable foresight they denounced Stephen J. Field who was to become the strongest advocate of the Mexican claims on the Supreme Court of the United States.[60]

The attempted Luco and Limantour swindles, which involved 814,000 acres or enough to make 5,000 farms of 160 acres each, together with other doubtful claims as yet unsettled and the growing bitterness between the claimants and the settlers over the question of surveys, pushed the settler movement to greater extremes.[61] Since the Mexican grants had not clearly specified boundaries, it proved possible for owners, when their claims were confirmed and the surveys were being run, to have the government surveyors so establish their lines as to exclude the barren, waste, and mountain land from the allowed acreage and to include the valley land on which their improvements and those of the settlers had long since been made. Thus settlers on the four-league Tzabaco Rancho in Sonoma County took violent exception to the way the surveyors were running jagged lines to include their claims instead of surveying the rancho in a compact form as their instructions were said to prescribe. The surveyors were charged with straddling a mountain to include in two valley tracts, not one, some of the choicest developed land in the Russian River valley. Excited by fears of the loss of their homes, settlers mobbed the surveyors, destroyed their field notes, and roughed up one of the agents of the claimants. When a federal marshal later appeared in the region to arrest the participants, it was reported they were all away hunting. There followed mass meetings, appeals to the land office to order new surveys, and angry denunciation of the "pestilential land thieves" who had no regard for settlers' interests.[62] With five hundred settlers organized in four land leagues threatening to prevent the law officers from functioning as long as they appeared to be on the side of the claimants, further action by the state appeared essential.

Settlers were also harassed by claimants with highly questionable titles who by threats of ejectment attempted to induce them into buying and making payments before the final decision on the claims had been made. Two flagrant cases of this kind occurred in Yolo County. Both claims were ultimately rejected as based on forged documents and perjured testimony, but before they were struck down a decade of turmoil had retarded improvements on 57,000 acres and done little to encourage respect for claims or for the law.[63]

Settlers were correct in maintaining that many of the claims were fraudulent or incomplete and should be rejected, but their inclination was to maintain that all large claims were of this category. It was difficult for them to understand why a fully documented claim that had been through all the procedures for a good title and yet was undeveloped, save perhaps for a small improvement in one corner of the tract, should be confirmed. Improvements and use were conditions necessary for confirmation, settlers held. Whatever the conditions for confirmation, they felt that claimants who ejected settlers and later had their own claims voided deserved severe punishment. In line with their views Governor J. Neely Johnson recommended in 1858 that steps be taken to protect the rights of settlers which would avoid the objectionable features of the Occupancy Act of 1856 but would at the same time assure them some redress.[64] The resulting law provided that persons ousted from Mexican claims which were later rejected or, if confirmed, did not include the land from which persons had been ejected, could recover possession of the land they had previously lost with the rents and profits from the time they were ejected until they were restored to possession together with all costs and damages they may have sustained.[65] Such a measure might discourage holders of Mexican claims from resorting to the law to eject settlers until the courts had finally determined the validity of the claims and the surveys had been completed and approved.

The grinding of the judicial mills did little to quiet settler unrest, and in the legislative session of 1859 the issues of settlers were again to excite attention. Governor Weller, who had previously not been the most ardent supporter of the demands of settlers, expressed regret at the invalidating of the Occupancy Law of 1856 and urged the importance of protecting settlers' rights on land they had settled upon when it appeared to be public domain but later proved to be included within the boundaries of private claims. He observed that settlers, having learned the boundaries of claims, settled outside them but in their vicinity and that when the official surveys were run, the claimants managed to have settlers' improvements included within the exterior boundaries. To permit the owners of floating claims to extend their boundaries in this way was rank injustice, and the governor urged that the constitutional power of the state be used to remedy the situation.[66] To the lawyers in the legislature the Supreme Court decision must have seemed a difficult barrier to breach, too difficult without a change in the court. Another way was found to show the members' devotion to the settlers' cause in a joint resolution asking Congress to enact a measure that would reopen all land claims where it could be shown that confirmation had been obtained by fraud. The measure was directed at "evidence brokers," "wholesale land pirates and grant manufacturers" who forged claims or otherwise secured confirmation of questionable grants. Most attention in the discussion was given to the Bolton and Barron, Limantour, and Frémont claims. Fear was expressed that any general act providing for the reopening of the claims might further delay an already prolonged and costly litigation, but the senate rushed the resolution to adoption by a vote of twenty-three to nine. In the assembly it was amended on motion of a representative of Los Angeles County to exclude the southern counties from the resolution, and was then passed. It may well be questioned whether the members were doing anything more than attempting to show their good will toward the settlers, for the senate, on the last day of the session, tabled the resolution when it came back from the assembly.[67]

The same legislature tried to secure relief from the results of its own stupid blundering by rushing into law an ill-planned measure to make possible the speedy sale of the swamp and overflowed land to which the state might be entitled under the Swamp Land Act of 1850. Instead of withholding sales until the land had been segregated and title passed to the state as most other states did, the legislature devised a measure that permitted sale before the state had received title or even the federal government had any knowledge that the lands had been thus selected. When, therefore, federal officials had surveyed the lands in question, sectionized them, and advertised them for sale, the legislature suddenly realized the problems its precipitate action was certain to create for buyers unless emergency steps were taken to prevent the sale. On the very day that the lands were to be auctioned, the legislature adopted a resolution instructing the state land officers to provide lists of swamp lands they had selected and partly sold and urging the local federal officers to withhold them from sale. Such withholding, once the lands were advertised, was beyond the power of the local officers, but the notice of the legislature of the adverse interest of the state may have made potential buyers wary of making a questionable investment.[68]

Other settler-oriented action of the tenth legislature included a resolution urging Congress to restore pre-emption rights to settlers on unsurveyed land—a privilege which had lapsed on March 3, 1956—and resolutions requesting the donation to California of ten million acres for internal improvements, the cession of the desert of southern California and land grants for railroads.[69] State administration of public lands, unfortunately, as it was working out in the new states and particularly in California, offered no improvement over federal policy so far as rights of settlers were concerned.

Meanwhile, greater attention was being given to the defense of government titles in California. As early as December, 1854, the district attorney for the northern district had described to a committee of the House of Representatives the crushing burden of work his office had to perform, and the committee in turn advocated increased funds for additional clerks.[70] In the closing days of the Pierce administration, Caleb Cushing, Attorney General, instructed the newly appointed district attorney for northern California to stop in Mexico on his way to fill his position for the purpose of securing information and documents that would make possible more effective defense. When Jeremiah S. Black became Attorney General in 1857, he gave to the defense of the claims his own remarkable intellectual and physical abilities in Washington before the Supreme Court and named Edwin M. Stanton to proceed to California to provide the same vigorous defense there in the district court. Generous funds were for the first time made available for research in Mexico and in California in records that government attorneys were able to examine but lightly in the past. Black also succeeded in rushing through Congress a measure for the prevention of frauds in California which provided punishment of one to three years in prison at hard labor and up to $10,000 in fines for persons convicted of forging or counterfeiting documents or giving false testimony in the trials of land claims.[71]

Government attorneys were now able to meet the very brilliant California attorneys on equal terms and present their defense with equal effectiveness. In fact, so successful were the new efforts that criticism began to pour into Washington against the activities of Black and Stanton, various charges were hurled at them, and efforts were made in California to secure the removal of the district attorney.[72] Improved presentation of the claims led to the rejection of the Cambustón claim of eleven leagues, the second of the Sutter claims of 22 leagues,[73] the Luco and Limantour claims, and the immensely valuable Bolton and Barron claim.[74] In 1859 claims containing close to two and one half million acres were rejected by the Supreme Court, mostly on the ground of fraud.[75]

Rejection of claims containing such large acreages, some of which were most desirable, might be expected to appease the feelings of settlers, but such was not the case. Settlers on land thus released from the dead hand of the claimants did go ahead with their improvements provided they did not run foul of railroad selections, state selections, scrip and warrants entries by speculators. Elsewhere settler feeling was in no way abated.

Between 1860 and 1862 eleven additional claims containing 317,000 acres were rejected by the Supreme Court on most of which there had been sharp settler-claimant conflict. The reaction to the decisions of the Court on these claims and others on which boundary disputes were producing equally aggravating friction showed that a considerable number of Californians had come to regard large and undeveloped holdings of valley land as immoral, contrary to natural law, and therefore open to settlement by them.

The turmoil in California between settlers and land claimants again attracted attention in Washington and led to the adoption of a remedial act that met some of the settlers' criticisms. Since 1851 the General Land Office, one of the most politically oriented of Washington bureaus, had had final jurisdiction over the survey of claims. When claims were confirmed, the Surveyor General for California was instructed to make the surveys. Over and over again settlers had charged that this officer was unduly influenced by the claim owners in so running the lines as to include the settlements which had been made around the periphery of the previously established rough boundaries. As a result settlers who thought they had carefully avoided the claim owners' property found themselves included within the new surveyed lines. Their protests met with little favor whether forwarded to the Surveyor General, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, or the Secretary of the Interior. A judicial trial seemed the answer, and in 1860 Congress provided that settlers were to be notified by public advertisement of the completion of the surveys of nearby claims and were to have the privilege of appealing their case to the district court if they thought their lands and improvements were improperly included. The court was then to hold a public trial and could, if it be found necessary, order a new survey to be made to conform more specifically to the terms of the original grant.[76]

The decade of controversy over titles had wrought much havoc in California and left in its wake bitterness against the Land Act of 1851 which was incorrectly held responsible for the plight of landowners, and contempt for legal institutions which settlers felt leaned heavily on the side of the claimants. Many claim owners had exhausted their resources in litigation instead of using them to develop their properties, and their undeveloped land invited intrusion and settlement. Attorneys' fees, court costs, taxes, and interest on borrowed funds carrying interest rates as high as five and six per cent a month, forced foreclosures and the breakup of many claims, undoubtedly a useful step, but it was achieved in the wrong way. It was far better to come to terms with settlers where possible and use the income from rents or sales to push titles to conclusion as rapidly as possible.[77] Though some critics were coming to recognize the shortsightedness of the large owners in attempting to retain intact their immense holdings, many were to continue to fight to that end for a decade and more to come. The tragedy is that more vision was not displayed in foreseeing some of these difficulties and in devising a means by which all undeveloped and unused land in the claims was made at the outset public lands.

Major and measurable effects of the errors committed in the framing of the Land Act of 1851 that were shown in the Census of 1860 were the great concentration of ownership of agricultural land that has continued into the twentieth century, the high average size and consequent smaller number of farms, and the large number of farmers who owned no land.[78]

NOTES

1. Paul W. Gates, "Adjudication of Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, xxi (May, 1958), 213 ff.

2. Occupancy laws are dealt with in my "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xlix (June, 1961), 3 ff.

3. A map showing the claims as of 1863 is in the Commissioner of the General Land Office, *Annual Report*, 1865.

4. The *Alta California* (Dec. 18, 23, 1857), commenting on the unwillingness to sell of the great landowning families on the eastern side of the Bay region, said they were willing to rent for one-third to one-half of the crops. The writer deplored the selfishness of the landlords, maintaining that they were driving population away from the area by their refusal to sell their unused land in small tracts.

5. The Sacramento *Daily Union* (Aug. 8, 1857), not the most friendly settler organ, distinguished between the two groups of settlers, calling the first "bona fide settlers," and the second mere squatters.

6. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 29, 1856.

7. Not only was the chief agent ignorant of Spanish, but Senator Gwin charged that he neglected his work, was absent for a visit to Washington, and that all his responsibilities were being carried out by the assistant agent. Senator Weller admitted that the agent, in violation of the law, knew neither Spanish nor French, but insisted that he was absent from his post in California while doing work for the government in Washington. Gwin was a complete spoilsman and wanted to have the agent dropped for his Whig connections, but there was much to his charges. *Cong. Globe*, 32 Confi., 2 Sess., Feb. 26, 1852, pp. 879-882.

8. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 23, 1856.

9. Letter of Black, *House Ex. Doc.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 1858, no. 10, pp. 1-2.

10. Chief Justice Murray of the California supreme court disagreed with the majority of the U. S. Supreme Court on the Frémont case. He took comfort that

the "wholesale abandoning of principles, so long and satisfactorily settled, was not unanimous," and welcomed the fact that the justices most familiar with claim law had dissented. 6 *California Reports,* 269. Justice Catron, one of the two dissenting justices (a third later expressed his disagreement), said of the Frémont claim: "At law, this claim has no standing; it cannot be set up in an ordinary judicial tribunal. It addresses itself to us as founded on an equity incident to it by mere force of the contract, no part of which was ever performed. The claim is as destitute of merit as it can be, and has no equity in it. . . ." 17 *Howard,* 572.

11. Volney E. Howard, law agent for a time, was accused of preparing the defense of a claim then resigning and accepting employment as counsel for the claimant. In defense he maintained that the practice of government attorneys accepting employment on the other side of cases they had previously handled for the government was not uncommon. He was attorney for a number of claims which proved to be based on fraud and perjury. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Apr. 26, Aug. 1, 1856. For the Panoche Grande claim and Pacificus Ord's entanglements in it see Robert J. Parker, "William McGarrahan's 'Panoche Grande Claim'," *Pacific Historical Review,* v (Aug., 1936), 212 ff.

12. For the reports of Henry W. Halleck and William Carey Jones on the California land claims see Gates, "Adjudication of the Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," 220-221.

13. *Cong. Globe,* 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 1851-1852, April 20, 1852, pp. 1129-1130, 2033, 2037. There is much on Gwin in William Henry Ellison, "Memoirs of William M. Gwin," in *California Historical Society Quarterly,* xix (Mar., June, Sept., Dec. 1940), 1, 157, 256, 333.

14. A copy of the Gwin bill is in vol. 8 of "Will's California Titles," The Huntington Library.

15. Congress was particularly generous in 1858 and 1859 in giving land scrip (land office money) to owners of private claims in Missouri, Louisiana, and Florida who had not succeeded in pressing their claims to decisions before settlers had taken up most of their lands and secured patents. The amount of scrip thus given was at least 1,409,000 acres. This excludes the scrip given to Indians. Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884), pp. 289-290, 1276.

16. *Cong. Globe,* 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 1851-1852, Aug. 2, 1852, p. 2037.

17. San Francisco *Herald,* cited in Josiah Royce, *California* (Boston, 1886), 485; *Alta California,* Feb. 11, Sept. 3, 1851.

18. "Letters to the Hon. Wm. M. Gwin by 'Citizen'," (San Francisco, 1854), p. 18.

19. *Cong. Globe,* 32 Cong., 1 Sess., July 27, 1852, pp. 1949, 2036-2038.

20. *Ibid.,* July 14, 1852, p. 1770; 10 *U. S. Stat.,* 244, 246. Pre-emption on unsurveyed land was sanctioned in California for two additional years by the act of Mar. 1, 1854. 10 *U. S. Stat.,* 268.

21. J. H. Ralston, a Republican candidate for a vacancy on the California supreme court, claimed in the midst of the campaign, that this provision was

responsible for all the land difficulties in California, a claim that the Sacramento *Daily Union* supported. *Daily Union,* June 24, 1857.

22. A glance at the ownership maps in the Thompson and West atlasses of California counties will illustrate well this difficulty of survey. See especially their *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco, 1876), and *Official and Historical Atlas Map of Alameda County, California* (Oakland, 1878).

23. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Aug. 1, 1859.

24. Gates, "Adjudication of Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," 213 ff.

25. The claims were Frémont, Cruz Cervantes, Vaca and Peña and Argüello. John J. Crittendon, Benton and others were associated with Jones in these cases. See the decisions in *U. S. Reports,* vols. 58 and 59.

26. A copy of this letter is in "*Will's California Titles,*" vol. 17, The Huntington Library.

27. The bill, if enacted, even with the modifying amendments added by the House Committee of the Judiciary would have confirmed perhaps a million acres of land, much of which was based on fraud. Report of Jeremiah S. Black of May 22, 1860, *House Ex. Doc.,* 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1860, vol. 12, no. 84, pp. 30 ff.

28. Jones' letter of Aug. 5, 1856, written from Washington to Denver, reveals his own part in the matter. The letter appeared in a newspaper from which a cutting was taken and is now found in Will's California Titles, vol. 13. *See* the *Cong. Globe,* 34 Cong., 1 Sess., May 26, July 30, 1856, pp. 1302, 1842, and Appendix, same Cong., p. 1183.

29. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Oct. 1, 1859.

30. *California Assembly Journal,* third session, 1852, p. 408.

31. Act of April 29, 1852, *Statutes of California,* third session, 1852, p. 158.

32. *California Assembly Journal,* fourth session, 1853, pp. 23-26.

33. *Alta California,* July 26, 1853; Sacramento *Democratic State Journal,* May 11, 1853.

34. San Francisco *Daily Evening Journal,* April 19, May 6, July 26, 1853; Placer *Times and Transcript,* Oct. 27, Nov. 8, 23, 1853; *California Farmer,* I (June 15, 1854), 187, quoting the *Herald.*

35. *Alta California,* July 14, 1853, Feb. 11, 1854. A portion of the San Antonio Rancho, amounting to 9,416 acres was patented in 1858, a second portion of 15,206 acres was patented in 1874 and the final portion of 18,848 acres was patented in 1877. Disputes over surveys and the area to be included were responsible for the long delay.

36. *Marysville Daily Herald,* Mar. 4, 1854, quoting the *Shasta Courier.*

37. *Statutes of California,* sixth session, 1855, p. 109.

38. *California Farmer,* iv (July 27, Aug. 3, 17, 1855), 26, 34, 50.

39. *California Senate Journal,* seventh session, 1856, pp. 39-40.

40. *Daily Placer Times and Transcript,* Aug. 11, 21, 1855. This paper fully

endorsed the platform of the settlers. One petition from Sacramento carrying 427 signatures is in the *California Senate Journal,* seventh session, 1858, p. 422. See also Sacramento *Daily Union,* Jan. 14, 1856.

41. Los Angeles *Star,* June 23, 1855; San Francisco *Daily Evening Journal,* Jan. 23, April 3, 1858; Philadelphia *Ledger* in Sacramento *Daily Union,* May 25, 1860.

42. R. Augustus Thompson, the former member of the commission, had, it was said, already declared himself favorable to the confirmation of the Bolton and Barron and the Limantour claims. Alpheus Felch of the commission had delivered a favorable opinion on the latter claim in which he said: "The weight of evidence, in our opinion, is decidedly with the claimant...." The case had been badly defended by the government attorney. *Alta California,* Jan. 27, Feb. 4, 1856; San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Mar. 11, 17, 18, 19, 1856. Of another U. S. District Attorney it was charged that he held an interest in the San Gregorio claim in San Mateo County at the time he was required to defend it before the district court. The court confirmed the claim and further appeal was dismissed. *Daily Evening Bulletin,* April 22, 24, 25, May 5, 1856. *Cf,* note 11.

43. Hoffman reversed the land commission on the Cruz Cervantes, Frémont and Limantour cases. On the other hand he confirmed a considerable number of claims that were later to be rejected by the Supreme Court, including the dubious Moquelemos claim of Andrés Pico for eleven leagues in Calaveras County and the Lup Yomi claim of Henry F. Teschmaker for sixteen leagues in Napa County. Actually, as events turned out, it was the commission that was to be the most critical of the claims and Hoffman who was to be lenient in confirming. Hoffman's decisions are found in his *Reports of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California* (San Francisco, 1862).

44. I have borrowed my characterization of the Frémont and Cruz Cervantes decisions from my "Adjudication of Spanish-Mexican Land Claims in California," 227. For the Frémont, Reading, and Cruz Cervantes decisions see 17 *Howard,* 542 and 18 *Howard,* 1 and 554.

45. For the dissenting opinions of Justices Catron, Campbell, and Daniel see 17 *Howard,* 566 ff., and 18 *Howard,* 11 ff. and 550 ff.

46. Appendix to *Assembly Journal,* seventh session, 1856, unnumbered but presumably no. 18.

47. The bill as introduced is in Sacramento *Daily Union,* Mar. 11, 1856; for the statute see Act of Mar. 26, 1856, *Statutes of California,* seventh session, 54.

48. *Alta California,* Mar. 3, 1854. At a meeting of settlers and miners at Folsom on the Río de los Americanos claim the participants pledged themselves to resist every effort to eject members from their improvements, protected the survey of the claim, and urged the adoption of the occupancy measure then before the legislature. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Mar. 14, 1856.

49. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Mar. 20, 21, 1856.

50. Paul W. Gates, "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xlix (June, 1962), 3 ff.

51. Both Vermont and Tennessee allowed settlers in ejectment suits brought by others to have the value of their improvements, even though they had no color of title to their land other than a settlement or improvement claim. Other states, with their great flow of tax titles made it easy for squatters to gain a color of title for little more than a song and thus come under the occupancy laws. *Laws of Vermont to 1807* (2 vols., 1808), i, 204; *Laws of Tennessee*, 10th Assembly, 1813 (Nashville, 1813), 33-34.

52. Billings v. Hall, *California Reports*, vii, 1-26.

53. Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 5, 1857, quoting the San Jose *Tribune;* Sacramento *Bee*, July 2, 24, 1857. It was not easy for James McClatchey's *Bee* to support a Republican nomination for the Supreme Court but he felt that the Democratic convention had so foully betrayed the settlers by nominating for political offices men who were anti-settler while adopting pro-settler resolutions as to merit only contempt. The Democrats must reform to win the confidence of settlers. Sacramento *Bee*, July 20, 1857.

54. Act of July 17, 1854, 10 *U. S. Stat.*, 784.

55. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 345-373.

56. Stockton *Democrat*, Feb. 7, Mar. 7, 1858.

57. 23 *Howard*, 543.

58. Stockton *Democrat*, July 11, 1858.

59. Murray indiscretely revealed this fact which was promptly denied by the author of the bill. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 13, 17, 1857.

60. *Ibid.*, July 16, 27, Aug. 4, 5, 1857.

61. The Iturbide claim of 400 leagues was only rejected by the Supreme Court in 1859; the Russian claim which had been purchased by John A. Sutter, amounting to 280 leagues was sold to William Muldrow and others in 1859, but they were not successful in making any headway in securing confirmation. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1860; 22 *Howard*, 290.

62. Stockton *Democrat*, April 25, May 9, 1858; *Alta California*, May 15, 1858.

63. The claims were William Knight's for 44,380 acres and George Swat's for 13,284 acres. For the charges of forgery and perjury see I *Black*, 228, and Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 230. For the deplorable effects of these fraudulent claims on the growth of Yolo County see the Sacramento *Bee*, Dec. 3, 1862.

64. *California Assembly Journal*, ninth session, 1858, p. 53.

65. *Statutes of California*, ninth session, Act of April 26, 1858, p. 345.

66. *Journal of the Senate*, 10th session, 1859, p. 37.

67. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Jan. 27, 29, 1859. For the actions in the senate and the assembly see the *Senate Journal*, 10th session, 142, 180, 815, and *Assembly Journal*, 10th session, pp. 63, 509.

68. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Feb. 15, 1859; *Senate Journal*, 10th session, May 10, 1859, p. 242; *Assembly Journal*, 10th session, Feb. 14, 1859, p. 271. As early as

August, 1858, the register of the U. S. land office had told state officials that the sale of the offered land could only be halted by the President. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Aug. 26, 1858. Furthermore, the California Surveyor General in his report of 1858, Jan. 8, had analyzed the problem with great care, showing the need for early action. *Annual Report of the Surveyor General,* 1858, pp. 8 ff.

69. *Statutes of California,* 10th session, 1859, resolutions of April 12 and 15, 1859, pp. 392-396.

70. "California Land Commission," *House Reports,* 33 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 1, 1854, *passim.*

71. *Cong. Globe,* 35 Cong., 1 sess., May 18, 1858, p. 2212; Act of May 18, 1858, 11 *U. S. Stat.,* 290.

72. Stockton *Democrat,* June 6. 1858. For William Carey Jones' attack upon Jeremiah Black see *Letters of William Carey Jones in Review of Attorney General Black's Report to the President of the United States on the Subject of Land Titles in California* (San Francisco, 1860), p. 32.

73. It is worthy of note that Justices Daniel and Clifford were convinced that the eleven-league grant of Sutter should not be confirmed for failure to present actual documents showing the grant. 21 *Howard,* 183. Sutter, it should be remembered, had eleven leagues of 48,708 acres, including the site of Sacramento, confirmed to him.

74. The Bolton and Barron claim was rejected by the Supreme Court in 1859, but the many Philadelphians who had invested in it did not easily give up. As late as 1878, maintaining that they had invested $1,300,000 in the purchase of the claim in 1853 and that they had never had a judicial trial, they secured a favorable report from the House Committee on private land claims but nothing came of it. *House Reports,* 45 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 243, Feb. 25, 1878.

75. Compiled from 22, 23 *Howard.*

76. Act of June 14, 1860, 12 *U. S. Stat.,* 33.

77. Horace Greeley, America's ablest contemporary journalist, who visited California in 1859, implored the land claimants and settlers to meet each other half way in efforts to settle their long drawn out litigation. *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (N. Y., 1860), 341-342.

78. This latter point is clear from an analysis of the manuscript census schedules of agriculture in the California counties.

The Federal Theatre in Los Angeles

By Robert Holcomb

"There will be launched in Los Angeles county commencing next Monday, one of the most extensive cultural development programs ever undertaken by a governmental agency in such an area as this."[1] On October 30, 1935, this news item brought the attention of the citizens of Los Angeles to the fact that the New Deal's Works Progress Administration was soon to initiate its plan for providing employment of actors through the Federal Theatre Project in that area. On the previous day officials had commenced interviewing job applicants for some eight hundred government theatre positions in Los Angeles County.[2]

Gilmor Brown, director of the Pasadena Playhouse, was selected by Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, the national director of the national Federal Theatre Project, to serve as regional director for the West. Brown's assistant, J. Howard Miller, who had formerly served as the director of the California State Emergency Relief Administration's drama activities in Los Angeles, handled most of the very early organizational planning for the Los Angeles Federal Theatre. In November George Gerwing was named county director, a position which he was to hold for the next two years.

By December Mr. Gerwing had organized his staff; this included the following production units and personnel: drama, Maude Fealy; religious, Gareth Hughes; marionette, Blanding Sloan; experimental, Edward Gering; classical, Jerome Coray; vaudeville, Eda Edson. Most of this group was to remain with the Los Angeles Project for the life of the Federal Theatre.[3]

Robert Holcomb, presently coordinator of the evening division at Los Angeles City College, was formerly an instructor in the social science department at City College. A graduate of the University of California, Los Angeles, Mr. Holcomb received a master's degree in history from the University of Southern California. During his military service in World War II, he served as chief historian of the medical department in the Pacific Theatre, attached to headquarters unit in Manila and Tokyo.

The Los Angeles Federal Theatre Project plunged immediately into production work. Mrs. Flanagan later was to write about her surprise and pleasure at the enthusiasm and speed with which the Los Angeles area got into production;[4] and Frank Gilmore, president of Actors' Equity Association, expressed amazement at the rapidity of the Los Angeles unit "to cast plays and start rehearsals while in New York they are still only talking about it."[5] Mr. Ralph Freud, one of the Los Angeles Project's administrators, attributed much of this speed to the pace set by George Gerwing and Jerome Coray, who had been used to this kind of tempo in their previous experience as directors of Little Theatre productions.[6]

Rather in keeping with what has been described as the flamboyancy of Western drama, Los Angeles initiated its Federal Theatre with a vaudeville production at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre, 4401 West Eighth Street, on December 31, 1935. This ten-act performance was the first Federal Theatre production in the nation for which admission was charged. This presentation served as a prophetic introduction to the type of drama for which Los Angeles' Federal Theatre was to gain national fame—a combination of music and drama which was neither true musical nor true vaudeville.

First rehearsals for the Los Angeles performances were held in the former State Emergency Relief Administration's headquarters at 843 South Hope Street.[7] Temporary administrative headquarters were first established with the Works Progress Administration offices at 1206 South Santee Street, but were soon moved to 1050 South Santee.[8]

The old building rented by the government for the federal government at 1050 Santee for two hundred and fifty dollars a month was symbolic of a great many of the people who were to inhabit it; it had seen better days but now was to have a new lease on life. It was a five-storied building, "with an uncertain elevator, grey cement walls and new-lumber knobless doors."[9] Within this building the administration was to be lodged along with the Federal Theatre's design shops, workshops, wardrobe department, and research center.

Although one administrator had said that the policy of the government was not to be that of renting theatres,[10] the plan of using such playhouses as the Ebell Theatre and Bovard Auditorium at the University of Southern California was abandoned soon in favor of leasing commercial-type theatres for performances where admission was charged. Under this plan, the Federal Theatre rented or leased, over the next few years, the following Los Angeles theatres: Beaux Arts, Belasco, Experimental, Figueroa Playhouse, Greek, Magic Strings, Mason, Mayan, Musart, and Playhouse (Hollywood).

One of the more troublesome problems that many areas had in relation to Federal Theatre was that local personnel were responsible to both the directors of Federal Theatre and to the local and state W.P.A. officials. Mrs. Flanagan attempted to keep the W.P.A. control to a minimum because she felt that non-theatre people would be lost in a highly artistic and technical field. In December of 1935 Mrs. Flanagan visited Los Angeles and conferred at length with Lieutenant Colonel Donald Connolly, the head of the W.P.A. for southern California. In *Arena* she described her "victory" in Los Angeles. She wrote that the freedom gained from administrative red tape permitted Los Angeles to have the "clearest and least expensive plan under which we ever worked."[11] Other problems were discussed with the local Federal Theatre personnel by Mrs. Flanagan, and plans for the Los Angeles project were outlined. Her enthusiasm for the project and her philosophy of what the function of Federal Theatre should be were contagious, according to some of those who met her.[12] some part of the admiration for, and criticism of, the national director may be noted in this poem written about her in the thirties:

FEDERAL THEATRE PRAYER

Our Mother who art in Washington,
Hallie would be thy name.
The election come,
The plays be done,
In New York as it is in Los Angeles.
Give us this period our daily bread,
And forgive us our turkeys,
As we forgive Warner Brothers.
Lead us not into Communism,
But deliver us from the Republicans
For thine is the Animal Kingdom (by Philip Barry),
And the Power (a Living Newspaper)
And the Prologue to Glory (by E. P. Conkle),
For ever and ever,
Ah women.[13]

Wages for unskilled workers were set at fifty-five dollars per month in Los Angeles; skilled workers were to be paid eighty-five dollars; professional or technical employees were to get ninety-four dollars per month in Federal Theatre employment.[14] New York's salary scale ran slightly higher, a fact which later led to some grumbling by the workers in Los Angeles.

The policy of Federal Theatre in relation to admission prices changed during the years. No set policy was established at the very beginning in Los Angeles,[15] but later the price for tickets ranged from ten cents for some of the earlier productions in 1936, to a high of one dollar and ten cents for *Two-A-Day*, the very successful musical of 1938-39.[16] Top ticket price was usually fifty-five cents however. Some productions were presented without charge to the W.P.A. relief workers on certain days of the week,[17] and the writer recalls that free passes to Federal Theatre presentations often were obtained easily. Numerous presentations at hospitals, parks, and schools were given by the government's players without any admission charge.

Two of the very few editorials printed against the local Federal Theatre project by the Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express* were written about the two items described above—Mrs. Flanagan and the ticket policies of the government. The first attack by that newspaper against the Federal Theatre came on October 25, 1935, even before the first Los Angeles rehearsals had begun. The lead editorial criticized the "left-wing propaganda" and asked about Mrs. Flanagan, with Hearst capital-letter style, "Has she not studied RUSSIAN drama under direction of the SOVIET society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries? How happy she must be, BORING FROM WITHIN . . . AT THE EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYERS!"[18] A second editorial on November 2, 1935, attacked the proposal that the federal government was going to charge admission for its performances. The editorial stated that such a plan would force many private productions to close and many additional actors would then be out of work.[19] For some reason, the editorial writer feared government theatre with an admission price more than presentations that were free.

Despite a constant barrage of editorials against other aspects of the New Deal, editorialized by the Hearst Press to the "Raw Deal," the Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express* had no further editorial criticism for more than six months, and in the next three and one-half years, never directly criticized the Los Angeles project or any of its personnel.

Despite the speed, the confusion, the editorials, and the criticisms, rehearsals continued; and an expectant audience quieted down on the evening of December 31, 1935, at the Wilshire Ebell playhouse as the Los Angeles Federal Theatre project raised its first curtain.

THE CURTAIN RISES: 1936

Although the Los Angeles Federal Theatre completed its first public performance with the dawn of a New Year in 1936, its problems, including those of deciding what was the best method of organizing, of determining the most practical personnel practices, and of deciding the nature of the plays to be presented, were just beginning. One of the administrators wrote to Mrs. Flanagan in early 1936 that among other complexities, costumes were ready but the music was not; that labor groups were complaining; that requisitions were not coming through; and that admission procedures needed attention.[20]

Despite these difficulties, Los Angeles, which was one of six cities making up the Federal Theatre units in California in 1936,[21] began a most ambitious program. Within the year the productions of the Los Angeles project were to include classical, children's drama, vaudeville, Negro, foreign language, and modern drama. This was to be a year of experimentation; most of the theatre concepts which were to be initiated in this year were to become a "permanent" part of the Los Angeles Federal Theatre.

The classical drama presentations by the Federal Theatre were confined almost entirely to the year 1936, except for those which were presented at schools. Classical theatre had received its first boost as a possible project for the Los Angeles area when the first screening of those who were applying for acting positions was made. It was discovered that some important names in American drama history were included. With the assistance of Gareth Hughes and Maude Fealy, two well-known and capable players, a classical cycle of plays was planned and later presented for drama students at the University of Southern California in the spring of 1936.[22] Several of these plays were transferred later to other Federal Theatre playhouses, and some toured schools in southern California.[23] Except for those plays that later went to commercial theatres leased by the government, drama critics of the *Evening*

Herald and Express, the *Times*, and the *Examiner* did not review the classical plays presented in 1936. The few classical plays that were presented in 1937 and 1938 were praised by Los Angeles critics, but apparently there was no great demand for the continuance of these presentations.

Although children's drama was presented by the Federal Theatre throughout the nation, probably no region was as widely commended for its presentations of this type of drama as was the Los Angeles area. Children's drama was divided into two categories: marionette and "live" drama. The presentations of marionettes were directed originally by Blanding Sloan; later Ralph Chesse was in charge of marionette productions.[24] Unfortunately, few reviews of these performances were written.[25] However, the attendance of more than one hundred thousand at marionette shows presented at the Greek Theatre in the summer of 1937 attest to the popularity of these productions.[26] The "live" drama productions for children won both local and national acclaim. Ralph Freud, a project administrator, stated that these originally had developed out of the necessity of putting large numbers of acrobats, clowns, and vaudeville personnel into some type of performance. Freud referred to the Yasha Frank productions of *Pinocchio* and *Hansel and Gretel* as "two of the outstanding features of the Los Angeles Federal Theatre."[27] The only presentation of this type of production in 1936 was *Teller of Tales*, which was presented during the summer at the Greek Theatre.

The distinctive stamp of Los Angeles' Federal Theatre was not its classical presentations nor its children's drama, but its musicals. The first big "hit" of Los Angeles was *Follow-the-Parade* which opened in April of 1936 and ran for ten weeks before being sent to the Dallas Exposition in Texas. This musical success was followed by another, *The Black Crook*, which pleased the Los Angeles drama critics. Other musicals of the more typical vaudeville style were given at various federally leased theatres and at schools, camps, hospitals, and playgrounds by touring groups.[28]

Touring was done by units other than vaudeville, but most of this was done in the earlier months of Federal Theatre and on a relatively small scale.[29] Some traveling was done by modern drama units; newspaper accounts indicate that *Black Empire*, *Habit*, and *Help Yourself!* toured various areas of southern California.[30] The largest contingent sent from Los Angeles was that sent to the San Francisco World's Fair in 1939: modern dance, marionette, children's drama, and living newspaper units, among others, made this trip.[31] Not quite in the touring category, but still in the travel classification, was the constant shifting of plays from one stage to another within the Los Angeles area. In a city as large in size and population as Los Angeles was, a whole new audience could be found by moving a successful play; this practice was to continue through 1938.

As many cities did, Los Angeles developed a Negro unit early in its Federal Theatre history. This group produced its first play, *Black Empire,* in March of 1936, and followed it with *Noah* and *John Henry.* All of these Negro productions received favorable local newspaper reviews.

An attempt by Federal Theatre to do older American plays according to the original acting styles was not too favorably received; and after three of this type received only lukewarm critical reviews, no further attempts along this line were made after 1936. Yiddish and French language plays were presented through this same year, but curiously there were no Spanish language plays produced in an area where Spanish is the most common second language.

Mrs. Flanagan's anticipation that Federal Theatre would be boldly experimental was not fulfilled by the experimental group in Los Angeles if its record of accomplishment is to be measured by the total number of plays seen by the public. Only one play was exhibited in 1936, *Miracle at Verdun;* and although this play gained critics' approval, no further work was presented by this group until 1938.

The Los Angeles production of *Triple-A Plowed Under,* which was presented in 1936, was the only "living newspaper" play done by the Los Angeles unit. This dramatic technique, which had been extremely successful in the East, created no major stir in local dramatic circles. When questioned about the failure of the Los Angeles project to do more with this medium, Mr. Freud replied that Jerome Coray, who normally would have directed such a medium, had felt that if a living newspaper were to be done in Los Angeles, it should be related to the local scene, and only one script, entitled *Spanish Grant,* was ever prepared. This was never presented, probably because it dealt with land titles from the Spanish days to modern times and it was believed to have been "loaded with dynamite."[32]

Religious drama, introduced by the Los Angeles Federal Theatre in 1936, won the critics' approval that year with *Noah, The Devil Passes, The Fool,* and a series of morality plays. This type of production was continued through 1938.

The greater number of plays produced by the Los Angeles project was in the "modern" category—those plays written in the past seventy years. There were more than thirty of these presented in 1936, and except for the first one, *Under Two Flags,* they received reviewers' recognition varying from pronouncements of "fair" to "excellent." Some of the modern drama presentations of this first year were certainly in the "controversial" category—*Chalk Dust, Class of '29, It Can't Happen Here*—but neither the conservative Los Angeles *Times* nor the Hearst-owned Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express* criticized these plays because of their economic or political concepts.

The whole Federal Theatre Project, however, did come under attack as the 1936 election time drew nearer. Press attacks by the Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express* against the policies of the New Deal increased, and the W.P.A. was a prime target. In time, this antagonism was directed also against the Federal Theatre; on August 27, 1936, that paper's editorial read: "Take . . . the Federal Theatre Project—an undisguised propaganda activity."[33] On October 6, 1936, the same paper wrote a stinging rebuke against both the Federal Theatre and Mrs. Flanagan.[34]

A more subdued criticism directed against the artistry of the Federal Theatre was made by drama critic, John Scott, of the Los Angeles *Times,* when he wrote on April 12, 1936, that as far as the artistic value was concerned, the Federal Theatre's rating would only be "fair."[35] The drama editor of the Los Angeles *Times,* Edwin Schallert, wrote that although "the inception of the Federal activities in the field of the stage was the most important event during the theatrical season of 1935-1936 in Southern California . . . to date very little has come out of the whole undertaking, except the employment feature."[36]

But not all newspaper reports were critical. Many of the reviews of individual plays extolled both the type of play and the acting. In a review of the Federal Theatre's first year, one of the drama critics of the *Evening Herald and Express* wrote that the "Federal Theatre has developed to the status of an important show business."[37]

The Federal Theatre's first year in Los Angeles was one of rapid movement and wide experimentation with various types of productions. The primary purpose of Federal Theatre—that of providing employment for actors in their own line of endeavor—had been accomplished. From the artistic standpoint the reviewers' consensus was that the first year's offerings were neither very, very good nor very, very bad. Perhaps in the coming years, Los Angeles would discover which type of drama was best suited for its Federal Theatre personnel, and which was to be most satisfactory for its patrons.

THE PLAY IS THE THING: 1937-1938

By 1937 the Los Angeles Federal Theatre was in "full production." In November of that year, when the national director made her second visit to southern California, she praised the Los Angeles project, "probably the most efficient show-shop in the country."[38] She wrote that "here was a going concern, an entirely self-contained, efficiently operating theatre."[39]

Organizational shifts of importance took place during 1937: J. Howard Miller became Mrs. Flanagan's deputy director; George Gerwing moved from his position as Los Angeles County director to that of director of the Southern California District.[40]

By 1937, Los Angeles was operating its own research bureau. This unit's function was to do research for forthcoming period or costume plays, to make production books for all plays presented, and to do general research in local drama history. From these latter endeavors came some excellent production books, and the following histories: *The Chinese Theater in America*, *Los Pastores*, and *Theater in Los Angeles*.[41]

Although 1937 was perhaps the most productive and successful year in the history of the Los Angeles Federal Theatre, it was not a year without its major problems. The most persistent of these was related to the basic job of the Federal Theatre—trying to meet the dual demands of providing jobs for former relief workers and at the same time of establishing high artistic standards. The problem was first encountered when the project began the job of screening applicants. Which of those applying really were able, and could conform, to Federal Theatre's standards, and which were either faking their credentials or were so artistically inept, no matter what their background, that they would be useless to the project? Constant hirings, reductions in personnel, and changes in the types of plays offered made it incumbent upon administrators that they devise an effective system of checking the applicants.

In December of 1937 an interviewing board was established for the purpose of screening workers. This board, which at a later date was made up of Edward Arnold, Boris Karloff, and Lucille Gleason,[42] met with one of the Los Angeles administrators each Thursday morning, and with his assistance they checked applicants. An informal interview, covering the individual's experience, training, and the type of work desired, was held. Ninety per cent of those selected had to be hired from relief rolls.

Only a single new drama technique differing from those presented in 1936 was introduced to Los Angeles audiences during the following year of 1937 by the Federal Theatre. The innovation was the dance drama which was headed by Myra Kinch, with Martha Dean, a professor from the University of California, Los Angeles, serving as advisor. The dance drama unit presentation of *Festival of American Dance* won plaudits from all reviewers.[43]

Classical drama was represented in Federal playhouses in 1937 with two productions, both of which were well received by drama reviewers. *The Merchant of Venice* (which had been forced to close when attempted by Federal Theatre in New England) and *Merry Wives of Windsor* were presented at the Playhouse in Hollywood.

Yasha Frank's famous *Pinocchio* and *Hansel and Gretel,* live drama production for children, were first produced in Los Angeles in 1937. Both of these won national acclaim after being presented in many cities throughout the nation. Both foreign language and religious productions were reduced in number as compared with the previous year.

Although Los Angeles drama critics were not in agreement as to the quality of the presentation of *Macbeth*, the first of two Negro dramas presented in 1937, both newspapers—the *Times* and the *Herald and Express* lauded the second one, *Androcles and the Lion,* which was a combined effort produced by the Federal Theatre and the Federal Music Projects.

Straight vaudeville presentations by Los Angeles Federal Theatre in 1937 were either ignored or criticized by the reviewers. But when Los Angeles' vaudeville producers, Eugene Stone and Jack Robinson, introduced the combination of musical comedy and vaudeville in *Review of Reviews* and *Ready! Aim! Fire!*, critics praised the shows and the audiences proved their enthusiasm by keeping each show running for three months.

Modern plays were presented in fewer numbers in 1937 than in 1936, but the reduction in quantity was replaced by an emphasis on quality according to reviewers.[44] Plays by Eugene O'Neill and George Bernard Shaw were now being presented by Federal Theatre after those playwrights released their plays at nominal cost to the government's theatre.

Editorial criticism against the Federal Theatre was extremely mild in the Los Angeles *Times* in 1937, and there were no editorials about Federal Theatre in the *Evening Herald and Express* in that year. A criticism against the method of distribution of Federal Theatre's magazine in the Los Angeles area[45] and a columnist's allegation that most of the Theatre Project workers were not professionals[46] made up the total of the *Times* objections. In April of 1937 a full page and one half of a Sunday section of that paper was devoted to the Los Angeles Federal Theatre.[47]

Although the surface pattern for the Los Angeles Federal Theatre remained the same during most of 1938 as it had been in 1937, there were significant changes in the making which were to alter its activities considerably. Some of these changes were initiated in the first month of 1938. On January 12, 1938, Mrs. Flanagan was informed that the Southern California Federal Theatre was to revert to the head administrator of W.P.A. in southern California, Colonel Connolly, because of criticism directed against the project. The proof of the allegations made was never shown to Mrs. Flanagan; but in the meantime, Gilmor Brown was dismissed as western director, and a scheduled play, *Judgment Day*, was cancelled.[48]

Later actions reversed some of these earlier ones: the national directors regained control of the artistic phases of Federal Theatre, and *Judgment Day* was presented. But a local director had been dropped without the approval of the national director, and the administrative controls had been juggled; if done once, why not again? William Oliver, a drama reviewer for the *Evening Herald and Express*, criticized Colonel Connolly for his censorship of *Judgment Day* by stating that if a regulation banning the presentation of any play dealing with a social problem of a controversial nature had been in effect earlier, much of the best drama which had been presented previously by the Los Angeles Federal Theatre would not have been produced.[49] The net result was that Los Angeles had had its first taste of censorship and major administrative battles, and that the West had lost an able director.

The implications of the 1938 Congressional elections were understood by some of the personnel of the Federal Theatre who desired to continue the government's theatre along the same pattern that it had been following.[50] The November election of a more tax-conscious Congress boded ill for these people's hopes. The number of new productions begun by the Los Angeles Federal Theatre was reduced sharply in late 1938, and changes and rumors of changes on the project were appearing constantly in the local press during the months of November and December.

In January of 1938 the Federal Theatre stock company presented its first production, *Ah, Wilderness*, at the Mason Theatre. This was the first of fifteen stock presentations which were to play at this theatre from January through August. There had been some misgivings about the initiation of a stock company when the plan was first proposed, but the older players felt that these productions would raise the prestige of the Federal Theatre. The general evaluation of these presentations by the critics was not an overly favorable one.

Dance drama, religious drama, children's shows, and Yiddish productions were all reduced in numbers in 1938; only eight presentations were given in all four of these drama classifications. Los Angeles newspapers gave them scant attention.[51]

Twelve modern plays, not including the fifteen presented by the stock company, were produced by Federal Theatre in 1938 and most of these won high approval from the critics. *Bird of Paradise*, *Alien Corn*, *Judgment Day*, *Alison's House*, and *Prologue to Glory* were singled out for special commendation, and none of the others were criticized as being poor plays or being poorly presented.

After nearly two years absence, experimental drama returned to Los Angeles in 1938, with the presentation of *The Sun Rises in the West*, which was scheduled to have been the first in a series depicting California history. The players, writers, and directors went directly into the farm workers' camps—this was the story of California migratory laborers—to gain Stanislavskian realism for their writing and acting.[52] Although praised very highly by the reviewers,[53] this was the last of the experimental-type plays to be presented. Allegations later were made that some of the leaders of this unit were closely identified with the Communist Party. Mr. Freud later stated that the unit "just seemed to wither away" after the one production.[54]

But if the public was not demanding the continuance of stock company presentations, classical drama or experimental drama, it was excited about one phase of the Los Angeles Federal Theatre in 1938, the musicals. Both *Two-A-Day* and *Run, Little Chillun'* could classify in that category although the former was primarily a vaudeville production and the latter was often listed as Negro drama. The public's enthusiasm was noted at the box office; the two productions had a combined run of over eighteen months.

Two-A-Day followed the pattern of earlier Stone and Robinson hits, but this one was even more popular than its predecessors in the musical vaudeville field. *Two-A-Day* began its lengthy run in October of 1938 and continued to play before packed houses for over six months.

Run, Little Chillun' was even more enthusiastically received. This play was selected by Clarence Muse, who had been asked by Harry Hopkins, W.P.A. director, to assist the Los Angeles Negro unit. Muse, famous actor and singer, served as guest production director during the play's long Los Angeles run. He later attributed the success of the play to the combination of the beautiful music of the Hall Johnson choir and the dramatic emotional power of the play which the actors were able to transfer to the audiences. Tickets priced at fifty-five cents each were sold for three and four dollars by scalpers as the public demand increased. This production ran nearly a year under the government's auspices and then, as the curtain was being drawn on Federal Theatre, was reorganized and opened under private sponsorship.[55]

One phase of the Los Angeles Project which came under criticism during this period was the lack of a governmental program for training Federal Theatre actors. After praising most of the local project's productions, William Oliver, *Evening Herald and Express* drama critic, asked why an actors' school had not been established.[56] But for the most part, the Los Angeles papers steered clear of editorial criticism of the project in 1938: none appeared in the *Times* and only one appeared in the *Herald* that year.[57]

The picture of the Los Angeles Federal Theatre in January of 1939 could well have been depicted by the Janus-faced symbols of comedy and tragedy. With *Two-A-Day* and *Run, Little Chillun'*, the government had its two greatest box office hits, but those close to the administration must have realized that while the project was enjoying its greatest financial successes, the theatre projects themselves were soon to be closed.

THE LAST ACTS: 1939

In January of 1939, the newly-elected members of the House of Representatives urged that the next Works Progress Administration appropriation bill be slashed by one hundred and fifty million dollars;[58] and although the final cut was only one-third of that figure, the death knell of the Federal Theatre had been sounded.

In Los Angeles, rumblings of political changes in Federal Theatre had been heard for several months prior to the start of the new year, and some changes among the administrative personnel had already taken place. In November James Ullman replaced George Gerwing as southern California director; in December Colonel Connolly was replaced as W.P.A. director of the same area by Herbert C. Legg. This last change, according to Federal Theatre leaders, destroyed the Los Angeles project.[59]

Ullman's stay as director was brief; he quit early in February stating that he had been forced to reduce personnel by approximately one-fourth immediately after taking office, and that he was unable to get plays produced because his time was taken up with controversies.[60] Ullman's departure was followed by that of Ralph Freud, assistant production director, who criticized "the personal ambition found in Federal Theatre leadership,"[61] and accused Legg of using high handed methods in obtaining the dismissal of the director.[62]

For nearly two months, Los Angeles was without a director. Then without Mrs. Flanagan's approval, Legg appointed Alexander Leftwich to this position. The latter was a man with a theatrical background, but his concepts of the job of Federal Theatre were in sharp contrast with those who were already on the project, and his theories as to what would make good theatre productions were outmoded, according to Ralph Freud.[63] On April 11 Leftwich announced the dismissal of ten of the people on the project. Among those dropped were Jerome Corey, Loren Raker, Max Pollock, Mary Farmer, Leona McGinty, and Chalmer Day. Most of those dismissed were prominent theatre people who had been on the project since its inception, and their departure created further uneasiness among those who remained.[64]

Meanwhile, some plays were being produced by the project, but only five new plays were presented in the first six months of 1939. *Volpone,* the famous classical drama, and *High Tor* were the only ones which made any great impression on the critics. There were hints that *Volpone* closed early because of the criticism directed against its "moral tone."[65] *Two-A-Day* finally concluded its successful run in March, and *Run, Little Chillun'* closed on June 10.

By the first of June information from the East indicated that only drastic action could save the Federal Theatre. Despite telegrams and radio protests sent by the Screen Actors' Guild, local civic leaders, and prominent Hollywood personalities, the die was cast. On June 30 an Associated Press item from Washington stated that the House on that day "hung a closed sign on the Federal Theatre."[66]

The closing of the Federal curtains meant that in Los Angeles eleven hundred and fifty people lost their jobs—six hundred actors, seventy-five musicians, and the remainder technical and skilled workers.[67]

There were no plays being presented as the project was closed, but three were under rehearsal. Later in the summer, several shows which had been planned by Federal Theatre were opened: some were given governmental financial assistance and some, with former project personnel, ran as private ventures. *The Swing Mikado, Meet the People,* and *Run, Little Chillun',* which were in this category, were presented after July 1, 1939. But by then the curtain had come down on the Federal Theatre in Los Angeles.

NOTES

1. Los Angeles *Evening Herald and Express* (hereinafter cited as the Los Angeles *Herald),* Oct., 30, 1935.
2. Los Angeles *Herald,* Oct. 29, 1935.
3. Interview with Ralph Freud, Feb. 17, 1956. Mr. Freud was then head of the theatre arts department at the University of California, Los Angeles.
4. Hallié Flanagan, *Arena* (New York, 1940), p. 275.
5. Los Angeles *Herald,* Jan. 31, 1936.

6. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

7. Los Angeles *Times,* Nov. 30, 1935.

8. Los Angeles *Times,* Nov. 10, 1935.

9. Sanora Babb, "The Los Angeles W. P. A. Theatre Project," *New Theatre,* (June, 1936), p. 22.

10. Los Angeles *Times,* Nov. 10, 1935.

11. Flanagan, *Arena,* p. 274; Los Angeles *Herald,* Dec. 6, 1935.

12. Ralph Freud Interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

13. Original, typed, is in the Federal Theatre files in the Theatre Arts Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

14. Los Angeles *Times,* Nov. 10, 1935.

15. Los Angeles *Times,* Nov. 10, 1935.

16. Los Angeles *Herald,* Jan. 2, 1939.

17. Los Angeles *Times,* April 20, 1937.

18. Los Angeles *Herald,* Oct. 25, 1935.

19. Los Angeles *Herald,* Nov. 2, 1935.

20. Flanagan, *Arena,* pp. 276-277.

21. Los Angeles *Examiner,* July 5, 1936.

22. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

23. A more complete account of the Federal Theatre in Los Angeles schools is included in Caroline Householder's "Federal Theatre, Its Influence Upon and Value to the Public, Its Participants and the School," (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1940).

24. Ralph Freud praised Chesse's work highly in interview of Feb. 17, 1956.

25. An exception was the review of the *Emperor Jones,* Los Angeles *Times,* May 13, 1938.

26. Lee Shippey column, Los Angeles *Times,* March 19, 1938.

27. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

28. Los Angeles *Times,* June 17, 1938.

29. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

30. Los Angeles *Examiner,* May 2, 1936; Los Angeles *Times,* Feb. 7, 1937; Los Angeles *Times,* Feb. 14, 1937.

31. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

32. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

33. Los Angeles *Herald,* Aug. 27, 1936.

34. Los Angeles *Herald,* Oct. 6, 1936.

35. Los Angeles *Times,* April 12, 1936.

36. Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1935-36* (New York, 1936), p. 26.

37. Los Angeles *Herald,* Sept. 16, 1936.

38. Flanagan, *Arena,* p. 282.

39. Flanagan, *Arena,* p. 299.

40. Los Angeles *Times,* Aug. 9, 1937.

41. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

42. Los Angeles *Herald,* Oct. 11, 1938; Feb. 10, 1939.

43. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

44. Flanagan, *Arena,* p. 277.

45. Los Angeles *Times,* Jan. 31, 1937.

46. E. V. Durling, "On the Side," Los Angeles *Times,* July 25, 1937.

47. "This Week," Los Angeles *Times,* April 18, 1937.

48. Flanagan, *Arena,* p. 286.

49. Los Angeles *Herald,* Feb. 11, 1938.

50. "Memo of Workers," a mimeographed newsletter (unsigned and undated [circa November, 1938]), in Federal Theatre files of the Theatre Arts Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

51. Los Angeles *Times,* March 12, 1938.

52. Los Angeles *Herald,* April 26, 1938; Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

53. Los Angeles *Times,* July 4, 1938; Los Angeles *Herald,* July 2, 1938.

54. Los Angeles *Times,* Aug. 2, 1941; Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

55. Interview with Clarence Muse, Paris, Calif., April 15, 1956; Los Angeles *Times,* June 13, 1939.

56. Los Angeles *Herald,* Dec. 1, 1937.

57. Los Angeles *Herald,* May 21, 1938.

58. Los Angeles *Herald,* March, 31, 1939.

59. George Gerwing to Ralph Freud, Feb. 21, 1939, in files of the Federal Theatre Arts Library, University California, Los Angeles; Flanagan, *Arena,* pp. 293-294.

60. Los Angeles *Herald,* Feb. 4, 1939.

61. Ralph Freud letter of resignation to Hallie Flanagan, March 1, 1939, carbon copy in Federal Theatre Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

62. Clipped article from *Westwood Hills Scene,* magazine (undated [circa April, 1939]), in Theatre Arts Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

63. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

64. Ralph Freud interview, Feb. 17, 1956.

65. Los Angeles *Herald,* July 1, 1939.

66. Los Angeles *Herald,* June 30, 1939.

67. Los Angeles *Herald,* June 17, 1939.

Vigna Dal Ferro's
Un Viaggio Nel Far West Americano

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY
FREDERICK G. BOHME

GIOVANNI VIGNA DAL FERRO, traveller, linguist, editor, and long-time correspondent for Italian newspapers, was born in Bologna in 1840.[1] From 1859 to 1867 he followed the career of an infantry officer, fighting brigands in southern Italy, helping put down the Turin Revolt of 1864, taking part in the Austrian War of 1866, and witnessing the Sicilian uprising. In 1867 he returned to Bologna, where he began his language studies and was co-founder of the journal, *L'Independiente.* He was forced to leave following a duel with the director of the *Gazetta dell'Emiglia,* and was travelling in France and Germany at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. He then went to Scandinavia, and was in Bologna once more in 1872. Here he became co-founder and director of *Il Matto,* established to fight the official *Monitore.* The *Monitore's* director was convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy, *Il Matto's* mission was over, and it was succeeded by *La Patria.* When,

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[1] The biographical material below is taken from Cav. C. Gotusso, "G. Vigna dal Ferro (Direttore dell' Ufficio Traduzione e Corrispondenza), Ricordi, Note, Appunti," estratto dalle prefacioni dell' *Annuario Filatelico Universale Romagnoli* (Genova: Casa Romagnoli & Figli, 1917), 1-14.

in 1876, this newspaper changed hands, Vigna dal Ferro was sent by the Italian Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia as secretary of the Italian Commission. He remained in the United States until 1880, learning English and writing newspaper articles.

In 1881 he returned to Europe as special correspondent for the *New York Herald* at the International Geographical Congress in Genoa. Following a trip to Tunis he spent a year in Rome, where he founded *The Roman News,* a short-lived illustrated English-language journal. He then travelled in India and Australia, ending up in Siam, where he was employed by the government in organizing that country's infantry along Italian lines. After a year there, he became first secretary of the Italian legation in Peking, where he remained until 1888. He studied Chinese, and participated in several commercial missions to Korea and Japan.

During the next few years Vigna dal Ferro was active in promoting Italian exhibitions in various parts of Europe, and in 1893 he represented his government at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. From that time until 1899 he was a banker and broker in New York City, catering to a Chinese clientele. In 1900 he attended the Paris Exposition in an official capacity, and accompanied a contingent of Italian troops sent to join the international forces at Peking during the Boxer Rebellion. From 1901 to 1904 he was in Europe, but once more returned to China as a commercial delegate and correspondent for Italian newspapers. When Italian forces moved into Libya in 1911, Vigna dal Ferro, at the age of 71, was along as a war correspondent. In later years he acted as a translator and editor for a Roman newspaper, *Fanfulla,* and a Genoese publishing house.

He spoke Greek, Latin, and English, all of the Romance, Scandinavian, and Germanic languages; Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Arabic; and to his full title of Professore Cavaliere Uffiziere Giovanni Vigna dal Ferro he could append decorations from Siam, China, and Japan, in addition to his own Italy.

While in the United States he acted as interpreter for Sarah Bernhardt on part of her first American tour in 1879, and from this experience came an article published in Italy, "Sarah Bernhardt nel paese del dollaro." Immediately following, he and a friend, Jehan Soudan, correspondent for the Paris *Voltaire*, began an extended trip across the United States. Vigna dal Ferro's impressions appeared in a series of articles in *La Patria* (Bologna), and were later collected in pamphlet form as *Un Viaggio nel Far West Americano, Impressioni di G. Vigna dal Ferro*, Estratto dal Giornale *La Patria* (Bologna: Stab. Tipografico Successori Monti, 1881).

Vigna dal Ferro's articles were written for an audience which had never seen the United States, and contain nothing new or penetrating for today's American reader. He is, however, refreshingly candid, and while he may be sardonic, sarcastic, and even critically incorrect about such things as Mormonism, his views present an interesting contrast to the travel literature of the period written by Americans.

He prefaces his account by a brief outline of the westward movement, the pushing back of the Indian frontier, the Mormons, the Overland Mail, and the coming of the railroad. The first half of his journey, from New York to Colorado, deals with his adventures at Niagara Falls with the "Divine Sarah," the gastronomic trials of railroad diners, crossing the flooded Missouri River on a makeshift pontoon bridge, and the mining frontier of Leadville. This material appears in translation in *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXV (October, 1958). Following a vacation in Colorado, Vigna dal Ferro and his companion, Soudan, continue their journey to Utah and the West Coast.

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After this rest in the Rocky Mountains we returned to Cheyenne once more to catch the Pacific Railroad, with its usual monotony, its usual desert, and its usual spectacle of dead animals. The only things that offered any distraction were the herds of antelope that would run when the train approached.

Having to spend another long day on the train in order to reach Ogden, our next stop, we inspected our new travelling companions, to see if there might be anyone we could least painfully pass the time with during our enforced stay on the train. And to tell the truth, we were fortunate beyond all expectations. We met an American operetta company that was going to San Francisco to perform *The Drum Major's Daughter*, and I don't know what other items in their repertoire.

It was truly everything that we had desired. They were easy-to-know people (especially for journalists), lovely and spirited. They could maintain their completely happy attitude even when, after twenty-three hours of intimate friendship out of the twenty-four of our acquaintance, we were forced to separate at Ogden, where we had to catch the train for Salt Lake City.

At this point I may well be asked a question by my cultured readers: And why are you among the Mormons? Yes, gentlemen, it is exactly in the midst of the Latter Day Saints, or as they are commonly called, Mormons, that we have spent some days. We arrived among them during a holiday, because the *annual meeting* of the church was taking place, with the participation of all Mormonism of the city and surrounding areas.

Despite the fact that they would know us to be Gentiles, as the Mormons call those who are outside the bounds of their church, we were accorded great deference as foreigners and journalists. We were received by the president, old John Taylor, by George Smith and some of the apostles, introduced in their houses and in the Temple, and presented to their families. We found everywhere the same friendly welcome and the appearance of complete happiness.

The first impression that a traveller receives on coming to Salt Lake City is to marvel at the beauty of the place, and more so because all this has been done in little more than thirty years. The Mormons knew how to transform this desert into a veritable garden. The valley of the Salt Lake is set in a basin of the high and snowy Wasatch Mountains, and is made fertile by a river, which the Mormons call the Jordan, that empties in the lake a few miles away, and whose water serves to irrigate the city and part of the surrounding territory.

According to the analysis of a Mormon chemist, the water of the Salt Lake offers many analogies to that of the Dead Sea in Palestine. Like it, Salt Lake has no animal life. The effect is most curious when you bathe in the waters. They are so saturated with saline material that a human body, so much heavier, is obliged to float. It is therefore impossible to drown.

The extraordinary density of the water of this lake has attracted the attention of speculators for several years. Great masses of pure crystallized salt are accumulating all the time along the beach of the lake and the little islands, and lately it has been proved that four barrels of water, when evaporated, will leave one barrel of salt. The annual production of salt taken from the lake water in 1877 approached ten thousand tons, of which seven thousand alone came from the firm of Lawrence and Burgess, which established and developed this important industry.

The city of Salt Lake, or New Jerusalem, as the Saints call their capital, is a beautiful city with broad streets laid out at right angles in the fashion of American cities, shaded by trees and with canals of fresh water at the sides provided for the use of the families and to irrigate the smiling little gardens which all of the homes have.

From any point in the city you can see the colossal building called the Tabernacle, a vast elliptical cupola held up around the inside by many tiny columns, which might give the baroque idea of a boisterous elephant with a hundred legs and without a head. Fifteen thousand people can be accommodated in the Tabernacle for the Saints' religious services, such as sermons, *meetings*, etc. The Tabernacle has an organ of colossal dimensions. It is the biggest, at least so they say in Salt Lake City, that is known in the world, and is the pride of the good Mormons, who let no opportunity pass to show it to foreigners who visit their city.

Next to the Tabernacle another building is under construction in the Anglo-Saxon style, destined for the solemn meetings of the Council of the Apostles and the other great dignitaries of the church. But this new Temple, all of granite, will require a long time and many dollars before it is finally finished. Fortunately for the Temple, the Mormons' religious zeal is too much alive to put that issue in doubt....

Five hundred paces from the Tabernacle along *East Temple Street* there is another grand building where the diverse products of their cooperative society are sold by the Mormon *Zion's Cooperative* [Mercantile] *Institution.* From another part of the street you can see an old enclosure, the first Mormon establishment in New Jerusalem. Here there are all kinds of workshops, the press, the official newspaper of the church, *The Deseret News,* the *Lyon's* [*sic*] *House* which was the residence of *Brigham Young,* the *Bee House* (the beehive is the Mormon community's coat of arms), and finally the *Endowment House,* the mysterious house where no impious person must put his nose. There they perform the secret ceremonies in which the neophytes are accepted into the bosom of the New Zion, and they celebrate the sacred rites of *sealing,* the matrimonial seal. All of these houses are enclosed by a large wall which gives them the air of a fortress. This wall came to be built for defense against the attacks of the savages, and a bit later against those of the whites, the government in Washington having many times manifested the desire to do away with the Mormons.

Of the Mormons' private homes, the most genuine is that of Miss Amelia, the favorite, the lovely *sultana* of Brigham Young, who, after the death of her lord, forsook the city and closed the house. The present president, John Taylor, the richest of the living Mormons, has a beautiful house, or rather a whole system of them, where his six wives live. We had the great honor of being received in his house also, and we could not help but note the extreme orderliness and elegant simplicity of it. Inasmuch as he must treat all of his ladies alike, the same compliments will apply to the other houses.

In the many discourses which were heard in the Tabernacle during the period of the meeting, President Taylor, Councilor George Smith, Apostle Cannon, and others displayed all of their eloquence. That speech which, more than anything else, was supposed to unfold to the people the mysteries of the Book of Mormon, however, was directed at lamenting the unjust and implacable war which has been stirred up against them by the Gentiles and the American government. They comforted the believers, and especially exhorted them to continue their contributions to the church for such expenses as it would incur for the advantage of the community.

To my great surprise, in one of his discourses the fiery George Smith harshly reproved the holy fathers [*santi padri*]—I mean to say the fathers of families—for sending their children to Gentile schools....

Do not believe that the Mormons are ferocious. Anticipating that their society will come to an end sooner or later, they are content to wail inside the wall of their Temple; but outside they are men of affairs and have made their money in the mines, the railroad, in agriculture, and in commerce of every kind. In their affairs they have no difficulty in trading with Gentiles, who for some years and especially following the discovery of rich mines in the territory of Utah have begun to invade the holy city, profaning it by introducing such great *Yankee* institutions, unknown to the Mormons, as the *bar-room* with its relative abundance of *drinks* such as the *whiskey-grog*, the *sherry-cobbler*, the *gin-cock-tail*, and such others as the American barkeepers' fancies have invented to tickle the palates of their numerous customers.

Like the Temple, the theater is very important in Mormon public life. This represents the joys of this world, while the other symbolizes the glories of a future life; and Brigham Young, with the practical intuition he had about things, wanted to give the stage maximum importance. Returning once more to the customs of the ancient patriarchs, among whom the drama boasted an almost divine origin, the Prophet of the Mormons wished that the legion of his sons and daughters would set an example of this drama-loving society.

It would be very difficult and lengthy to give an exact analysis and definition of the beliefs of this religious sect, which despite contradictions is known to have progressed so in wealth and population. Oddity is especially noted in the confusion which the Latter Day Saints have made of the Old and New Testaments. They teach polygamy as a divine institution, because the ancient patriarchs had it, and they want to revive the society of Abraham. They accept the Bible and baptize their proselytes in the name of Christ, but they are neither a Christian people nor can you call them that. They have a new history of creation, of redemption, and of the future life. They populate paradise with saints of their own making, and the Omnipotent for the Mormons is none other than a president of spiritual beings.

You would find very curious and useful the manner in which the Mormons explain the origin and presence in America of the redskins. According to them, the savages are only a branch of the Hebrew people that emigrated to America during the height of their power. But once they began to disobey, they lost their priestly position, and with this their white color, their clear intelligence, their noble physiognomy. According to the Mormons, these descendants of Israel have always retained some traces of their original faith, of their ancient institutions: for example, their belief in a Great Spirit, their divisions into tribes, and their plurality of wives.

In the opinion of Brigham Young, these poor undesirables will some day be reclaimed to the state of grace, will live in the city, become white once more, and reacquire their priestly rights. To my way of seeing, it will be very difficult to transform the warriors of the Ute, Shoshone, and other tribes into patriarchs like Aaron or Moses. But this remains to be seen. Brigham Young forgot to say whether in order to be complete patriarchs they would suddenly grow beautiful long beards. Perhaps if they did not have them they would be obliged to fake them, as some of the "laborers" of the French National Guard did. . . .

Polygamy is the really substantial point which divides Mormonism from the rest of society, but it no longer has as much force among the people. The prophet Brigham Young invented it because of the need to develop the population of the Territory as fast as possible. To increase the public wealth and his private fortune, he always preached to his believing followers that polygamy was a divine revelation.

He maintained that the women who married a man who already had other wives thus had better titles to happiness in the future life. They would also gain other rights just as attractive to the mass of these poor, ingenuous, and ignorant English, Scottish, Swedish, and Danish peasants who form the majority of the good sect of Mormonism.

In order to excite even more the dreams of these innocent creatures, this knavish founder of the church disclosed another divine revelation, made to him in secret. This was that a woman could marry a dead man, who at this time would be represented more or less platonically by a live one. The Mormons call this operation *sealing,* which is also done in the *Endowment House* surrounded with very great mystery.

The reason for this mystery is that the Mormon elders are very jealous of the secret of their rites and matrimonial ceremonies, and do not wish to give the government any proof of their polygamy, necessarily condemned by federal laws. According to the law, therefore, the Mormon women can only be considered concubines, and their numerous children, *our glorious crop,* as old Brigham called them, are really "natural children." The government at Washington, not able to stop this strange state of things in any other way, contents itself with refusing to accord Utah recognition as a state, which it would become through the size of its population, and keeps it in the territorial category, thus subject to the central administration.

This social anachronism in the midst of civilization and in the midst of the nineteenth century is being stopped. Miss Wells, daughter of the apostle by this name, and one of the few beautiful girls that I have seen in Salt Lake City, told me, however, "You need to know, but you don't want to know, anything about Mormonism; [the fact is] the women will start a revolution."

Here we were once more on the railroad. The next morning we arrived at Reno in the Sierra Nevada, where we stopped at dawn to enjoy the imposing spectacle of a sunrise over the high peaks, through whose valleys the railroad passes. While here we thought it would be a good idea to spend the day in Virginia City and visit the *Comstock Consolidated Virginia Mines.* These are the most productive silver mines in the world, and have made their proprietors millionaires many times over.

There would be no point in giving a long description of the visit and the methods used to extract the minerals, because the mines belonging to these gentlemen are no different from their sisters except in their colossal operation, a depth of 1,200 feet, and a product immensely superior to any other known mine, so that you can attribute to these mines the honor of being the most priceless silver strike in the world....

Twenty years ago two illiterate Irishmen, with a little money amassed in the mines of California, came to Nevada attracted by the stream of silver mines in this new Potosí. They opened a *bar-room* in the vicinity of a miner's village which a few years later became one of the richest American cities, the real *Virginia City*, a place where you toss dollars around as we spend pennies. Two other poor Irishmen, Mackay and Flood, who had come to seek their fortunes in the mines, came to this *bar-room*. Because of the natural sentimental ties between people from the same country in far-off regions, the four soon became close friends. Not lacking in knowledge and experience about the local mines, Mackay and Flood suggested to their two friends that they pool their capital and form an exploring and developing company. They were in fact fortunate, because some time later they discovered one of the large rich veins of the *Comstock*.

Having made this discovery, they had to find working capital, and upon obtaining financial backers, Mackay and Flood were asked to direct the operators in the name of the company. After some years of the most brilliant results, the mine, perhaps through bad management of the works or for other reasons, seemed to be exhausted, so that they were ready to abandon it, and its stock on the San Francisco Exchange descended to a nominal price. But this was the plan of the four Irishmen, who knew the secret of the mine's wealth, and thus when the mine was reorganized they bought all of the stock. From that moment the mine repeated its development, and in such proportions as to make a few wise stockholders complain of their short-sightedness in giving the new proprietors of the mine an inexhaustible fountain of wealth. Two of these four happy mortals are dead, and of the other two, Flood lives like a nabob in San Francisco, and Mackay divides his time between California and Paris, where his wife enjoys in her little world *le beau temps et la pluie*.

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There are two trains daily from Reno to San Francisco, but we preferred to take the morning one that crosses the Sierra Nevada at sunrise and arrives in San Francisco in the evening. The two spectacles are deserving of each other, for they contrast between the flowing alpine chain of the Sierra, whose peaks are covered with eternal snow, and that luxuriant shore of California, where the sun dips into the waves of the Pacific. No pen could describe it without being accused of lyricism.

From Sacramento, the capital of the state of California, clear to Oakland, is a succession of farms, orchards, flower gardens, and multicolored fields. Oakland is a sort of bedroom for San Francisco, as Brooklyn is for New York, since many businessmen go in the morning and attend to their businesses, and return at dinnertime to their homes; two cities separated by water, with the only difference that in San Francisco no one would have the idea of building a bridge over the bay. The good reason is that the bay is so much larger than the East River of New York. The daily traffic does not have the importance of that in the two great cities on the Atlantic, nor will the ice impede the passage of the *ferry-boat* in any season of the year.

Entering San Francisco on Sunday we observed at once that the Latin element makes up a preponderance of the public spirit, such as cannot be found in any other American city with the exception of New Orleans. The streets are very lively, and on this evening the theaters were open as they are in France and Italy. Other than that, you see everywhere Italian and French names on the show windows, announcing that the colonies of these two countries are of some prominence in the city.

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The Italians of California are numerous, active, and relatively powerful. They have a monopoly in some of the businesses they are in, for example, fishing, horticulture, and the markets dealing in fish and vegetables.

True, in fishing they have the competition of the Chinese, but as I have been assured, it seems that they have done the Italians no great damage. The Italian fishermen are about four-fifths Genoese, and if you go to their market at the time the fishing boats get in, rigged with true lateen sails, you would think you had found yourself in one of the countries on the Riviera; something that will console you when you recall that you are eight thousand miles from your homeland.

If the fishermen are almost all Genoese, the fishmongers are mostly from Lucca, and they also have a very active business keeping *boarding-stables* to accommodate the gardeners that come to the market with their horses.

Another important Italian business is, as I have already said, gardening. There are in California around twelve hundred Italian gardens, ranging from small to large, or *ranci* (as they call the largest, from the Mexican *rancho)* that occupy a population of more than ten thousand people, almost all from the Genoese mountains. Their gardens can be distinguished from a distance by their economical system of irrigation canals, which look like wooden bridges raised up on poles, that carry the water from artesian wells to different parts of the field.

The smaller gardens are on the outskirts of the city, and furnish the daily market with small vegetables, while the ranches grow the heavy vegetables that they export great distances.

In San Francisco the society of Italian gardeners has, like that of the fishermen, a covered market, with the only difference being that these have undertaken to rent some city-owned property, while the others have built at their own expense an ample warehouse which all the members have the right to enjoy. In the morning it is a beautiful sight to see the coming and going of the handsome two-horse wagons with the names of the proprietors on the sides....

In the United States they value the importance of an influential colony in the political balance of an election. The mass of the Italians vote . . . and are therefore a great factor; they can take their votes from one political party to another, and are thus able to change the face of things. The advantage to our Italians established in these far-off regions is that they seldom have to seek influence. . . .

The Italian colony of San Francisco has four societies of mutual aid, among which two are military organizations, the *bersaglieri* and the *garibaldini,* which turn out with great pomp on all great occasions and national holidays, and celebrate them according to the American custom with *pic nics.* The *garibaldini,* especially, are very wealthy and have for themselves a magnificent hall, designed for balls, reunions, etc. The hall is decorated with large pictures of Vittorio Emanuele, Umberto and Margherita, Garibaldi, Cavour and Mazzini, two statues of Cavour and Garibaldi presented by an Italian sculptor established in San Francisco, letters of Garibaldi, Benedetto and Adelaide Cairoli, and a great Roman wolf.

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The city of San Francisco offers a stupendous view when you see it from the bay. Like Rome, it is proudly built on seven or eight hills, and these are so steep that the horses cannot climb them easily, so that the city is forced to make things easier by means of *tramways* run by stationary steam engines. This original means of locomotion has come to be called *dummy* [*sic*], and has made possible the development of the upper part of the city. The California Street tramway goes for some miles and finally ends near the public gardens, where on Sundays the San Franciscans go in thousands to enjoy the view of the Pacific Ocean and the spectacle of hundreds of *sea-lyons* [*sic*] that sun themselves on the rocks in front of the Cliff House.

The city of San Francisco that I dreamed of so many times, reading of the fabulous fortunes made here through the discovery of gold, is no more an Eldorado where you ride over gold dust. It has always been the center of all financial operations in California, and its exchange is very active, but the commercial crisis that the rest of the United States has happily overcome has not yet left California. This is because of the agitation produced by mining speculation. For many years this speculation on the exchange over the rise and fall of the mines has been a fever that attacks almost everyone, bankers and priests, gentlemen and servants, professors and cobblers, and all those people who do not think of anything, talk of anything, except the sport of the exchange and the rise and fall of mineral prices. But the monopoly, or as the Americans call it, the ring, has ruined all of these poor people who could do nothing other than follow the law of the few that have become millionaires by climbing over the shoulders of the crowd.

I need to add that the great gold mines of California, or rather the *placers,* as they have come to call these deposits of precious metal, are almost all exhausted. Thus the great speculations which have as their base or foundation the mining industry have lost most of their importance, and now the San Francisco Exchange carries quotations only on Nevada mines.

This crisis, fortunately, will not last very long. California is now in a period of transition, and it must repeat its true prosperity through agricultural production. Endowed with a paradise-like climate of eternal spring in an area which runs from 42° to 26° longitude, that is to say like Italy, it has all of the products of the temperate and tropical zones. These can be transported with great facility by means of the vast network of railroads which the country has, and which every day is being extended. I am pleased to repeat that the Italians, by dedicating themselves to agriculture, have given a good example in this development of the productive wealth of California.

Another important economic question in California is that of the Chinese, who, in offering their labor at the cheapest rate, have created serious competition for the American workers. The latter are therefore having more difficulty finding jobs in the mines or on the railroads. For this reason a political party exists in California that wages murderous war against the Mongolians, and in the face of their continued development it wants to use every coercive means to impede immigration. But the American constitution is very explicit in this case. While these gentlemen were able to close the doors to these outcast pariahs of the Asian proletariat with a *ukase*, they are limited by way of experiment. Under the pretext of a health measure they have limited the number of *coolies* that a boat can take aboard in a Chinese port for California.

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It seems to me that other methods can be found without taking recourse to these means, which in a certain way restrict the liberty of free competition, and are a disguised violation of the American constitution. The city of San Francisco and the state of California, for hygienic reasons and in order to guarantee public health, should claim that the Chinese established in California cannot live bunched together in certain dwellings, without air and light.

It is necessary to visit (as we have done accompanied by a policeman) the Chinese quarter, the *Chinatown* of San Francisco, in order to get some idea of how these silent and imperturbable sons of the Celestial Kingdom live.

This quarter is composed of eight or ten blocks of houses, into which are packed thirty to thirty-five thousand people. In order to give an example of their kind of life, it is enough to tell you that in the smoking houses where they pass the entire day absorbing opium (their favorite narcotic), there are little bunks just big enough to hold a human body all over the room on different levels like the third class of a steamship. When you enter nobody moves, and as if nothing had happened all drowsily continue to smoke their little pipes, which they light from a little lamp attached to the wall.

After a few minutes in this room, the lack of breathable air makes you feel the need to go outside and see the stars again. Otherwise you would succumb in there little by little. They live in families crowded into tiny rooms, where air, light, and cleanliness are such luxuries that there is the chance of an epidemic which would be like a match thrown into a hayloft. And the sad consequences would be felt at once in the neighboring American city.

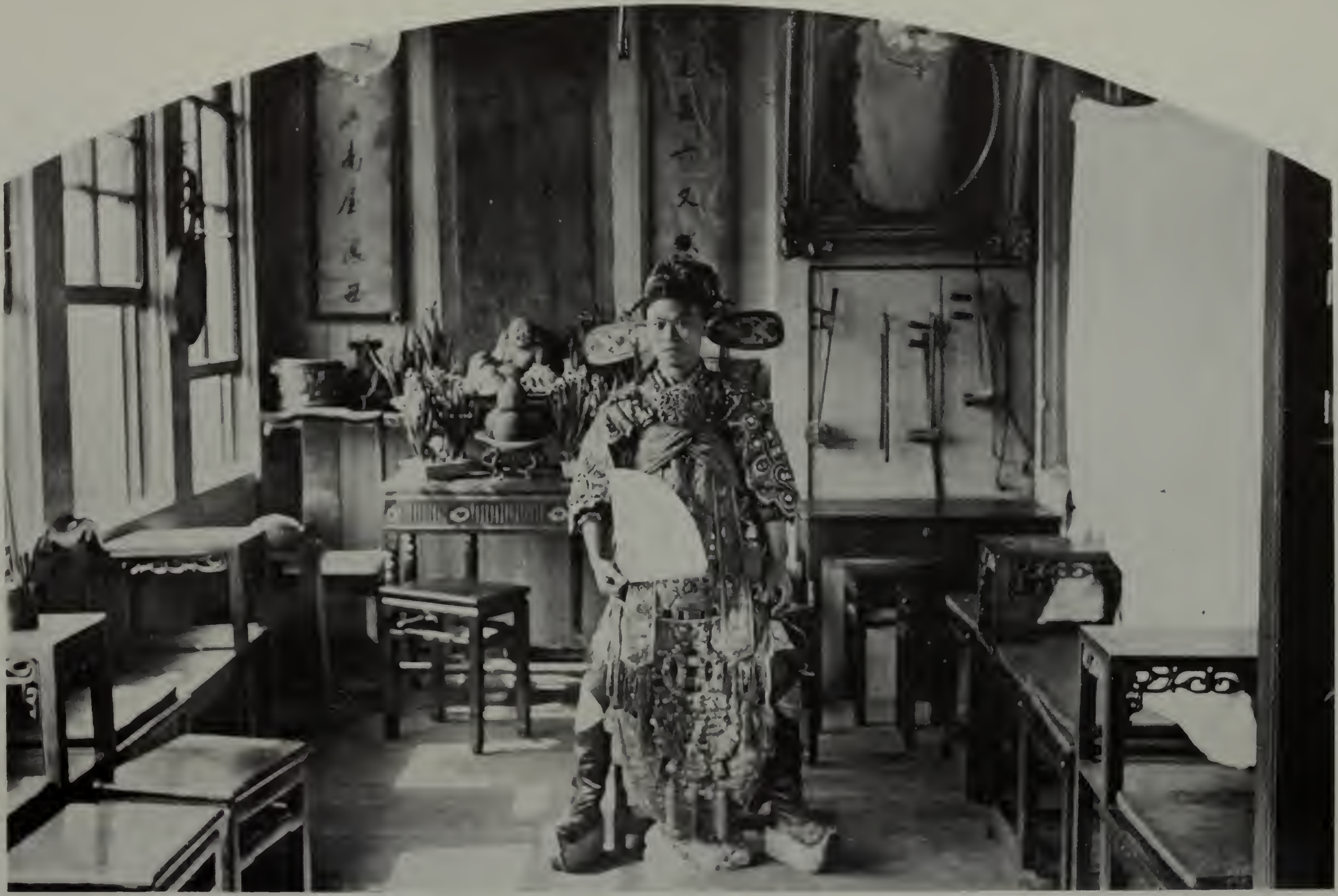
All of the houses have little barred windows in the doors, where you can make out the almond eyes of Chinese women beckoning to the passers-by. The Chinese are very religious and superstitious. They have not abandoned their little idols, in front of whose shrines there are always little lamps burning, and the Chinese do not come out or go into their houses without according to these household gods [*penati*] the tribute of their adoration, and they consider it a disgrace if the flame goes out.

At another time we visited a restaurant, in order to get an idea of how the Chinese eat, expecting to see in the kitchen a dish made up of swallows' nests and parrots' tongues. Nothing of the kind. We found only some very unappetizing ragouts which they eat with two long sticks of wood, making each one look like a nearsighted woman knitting stockings. We were therefore content to drink tea from microscopic cups which they value very highly.

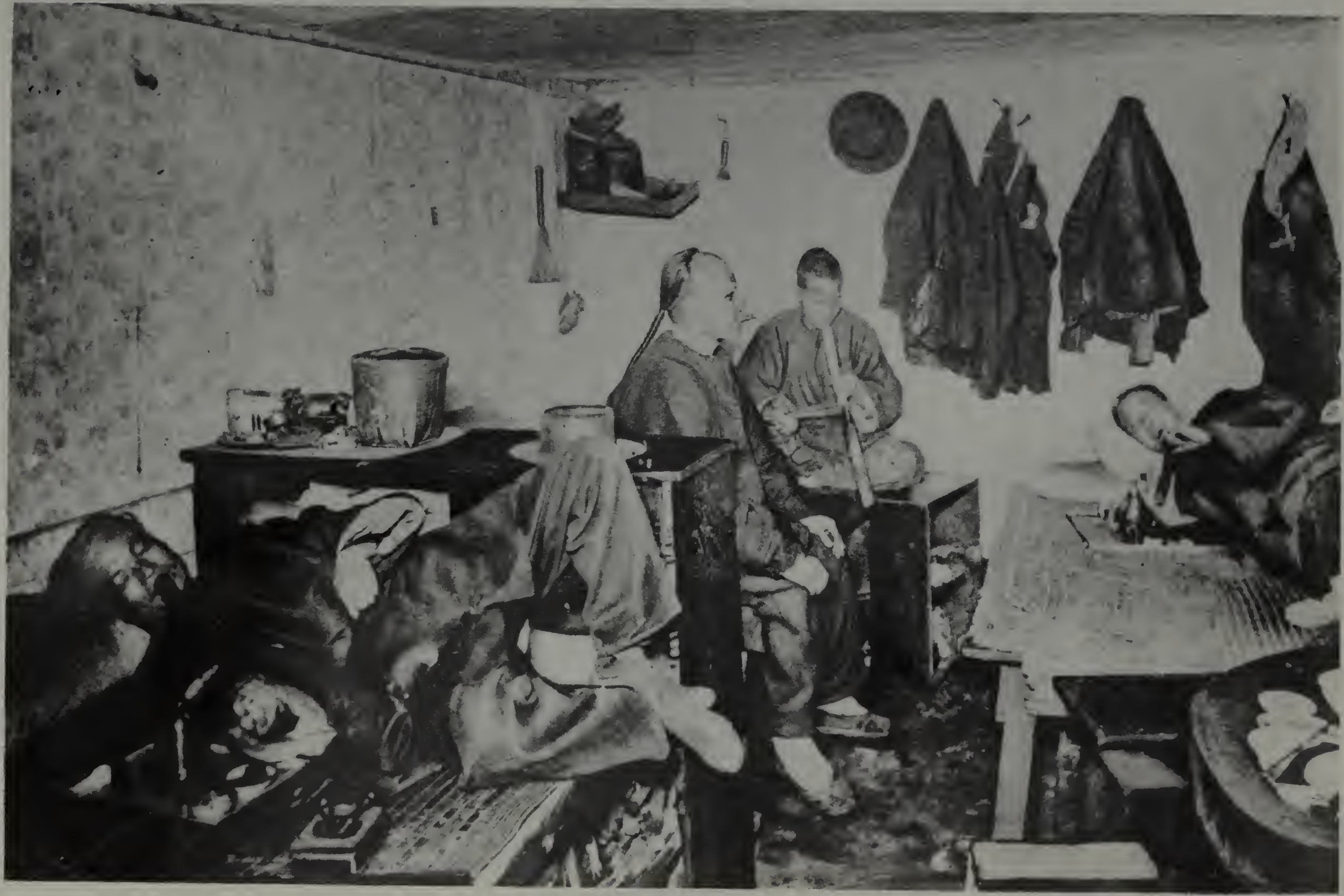
A curious thing to visit in the Chinese quarter is the theater. The spectacle begins at noon and finishes at midnight, and this continues for I don't know how many days or months. The more I saw, the less I understood. The performance we attended must have been a comic opera, because there was music on the stage, furious music, without any rhythm, which merely deafened the Western ear, while the majority of the public, and especially the women's gallery (in the Chinese theater women are separated from the men), gave signs of great hilarity. Inasmuch as there was no intermission in the performance, almost all the people (and perhaps all of the women customers) came and went about their affairs without the least sign that their absence impaired their understanding of the plot of the drama, the comedy, or whatever spectacle it was.

If the immigration of the Chinese to California has taken on such importance, it is because of the big companies which speculated in the *coolie* trade. With their agents in various cities of the empire, they engaged these outcasts to come, and promised them oceans and mountains in exchange for the thing they wanted most, the assurance that their bodies would be repatriated, according to the ancient Chinese superstition that their bones must rest in Chinese soil.

Once the Chinaman had arrived in America, the company would sell his services for an agreed salary to the railroad company, the mines, or private business, and from this the company would retain a substantial commission. If at last the Chinese did not accumulate a large enough sum to free himself from this type of slavery by the company, they would exercise the severest authority over him. Once freed from the obligations tying him to the company, the Chinese is at liberty to start a business on his own account, and quite often those in California establish themselves in the western states or those along the Atlantic coast as laundrymen. This is their preferred business along the Mississippi, while in California they adapt themelves to other occupations, even as nursemaids for



Chinese actor of late nineteenth century San Francisco. *From the Society's collection.*



An underground opium den in late nineteenth century San Francisco. *From the Society's collection.*

babies, in which, I am told by a San Francisco lady, the Chinese are excellent because of the great patience that is part of their nature.

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The more you see of the Chinese in San Francisco, the less desire you have to cross the Pacific Ocean to visit their home. All who have made a journey to the true China, however, are agreed in saying that you cannot get an accurate idea of Chinese life in San Francisco, just as you cannot judge Italian life by that in New York, because of the low quality of the classes that emigrate there.

Leaving thus for another occasion the decision to undertake a voyage to the Celestial Kingdom, I and my travelling companion, after some excursions in California, decided that the best thing for us to do would be to return to New York by the same way we had come. This was the only way possible for Soudan, who wanted to return to Europe with Sarah Bernhardt on board the French liner *L'Amerique*, which would weigh anchor from New York during the first week of June.

Shaking hands with the numerous friends we had made during our long stay in San Francisco, we began our return trip. We did not stop long along the way except at St. Louis, where we had some good soup at the Italian-French *restaurant* of Mr. Petri and company, without which it would have been a case of arriving at our destination completely exhausted from hunger.

Nearing the left shore of the Hudson River, we could begin to distinguish the towers, the high buildings of the great American metropolis, and in the distance the two immense piers of the Brooklyn Bridge, that marvellous piece of work in a country of colossal construction.

Scarcely arrived in New York, we had to prepare ourselves to leave again, to embark on the ocean, and to see Europe once more. Inasmuch as the ocean voyage is not part of the program promised to my courteous readers, I thank them nevertheless for reading my poor prose.

New Books

The Jews of California, from the Discovery of Gold until 1880. By Rudolf Glanz. (New York, privately printed, 1961. 188 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Samuel Dinin.

The celebration by the American Jewish community of the tercentenary of the first Jewish settlement in the United States, several years ago, stimulated a new interest in American Jewish history in general and in the local histories of Jewish communities all over the country. The simultaneous celebration of the centenary of the first Jewish settlement in southern California stimulated additional interest in the history of the Jews in California.

The Jews of California, published with the help of the Southern California Jewish Historical Society, is evidence of this revived interest in Californian Jewish history. We are indebted to Dr. Rudolf Glanz for bringing to light new material from untapped sources, which adds significantly to our knowledge of the beginnings of Jewish settlement in California and of the emergence and growth of the Jewish communities in California during the fifties, sixties, and seventies of the nineteenth century.

That the sources used by Dr. Glanz represent only in part the rich ore of historical material which remains to be mined, is evidenced by the fact that a separate history of the Jews of Los Angeles is being prepared by Rabbi Max Vorspan and his staff, under the supervision of the American Jewish History Center and the Southern California Jewish Historical Society, which will in itself be larger than the whole volume on *The Jews of California.* This in no way reflects on the pioneer work done by Dr. Glanz, who worked alone and did not have the resources to study all of the court records, the real estate records, all of the extant newspapers of the period, and other sources, which have yielded valuable information to the researches of the Los Angeles Jewish history.

Dr. Glanz's work is particularly valuable for his analysis of Jewish immigration to California, its nature and origin; for his account of Jewish life in San Francisco and other northern communities; for his description of the role played by Jews in the mining camps; for his treatment of the role played by the Jews in the social, economic and political life of California, as well as for his description of Jewish-non-Jewish relations.

In a pioneering study of this kind there is always the temptation to include and quote all of the source material used, both for the sake of inclusiveness and authenticity, and for fear that the sources may be lost or obscured. The result, however, is the inclusion of endless lists of names and lengthy quotations which could have been summarized or relegated to the footnotes. This lessens the readability of the book. A better topical and chapter arrangement of the material would also have added readability and cohesiveness to the book.

It must be recognized, however, that this work represents a pioneering effort in many areas of research, and should stimulate scholars and historians to new research on many aspects of California Jewish history. The index of places in California, which includes some eighty names, is itself an index of Jewish settlement in California and of local Jewish communities in California which remain to be studied in depth.

DR. SAMUEL DININ is dean of the University of Judaism, Los Angeles.

Titian Ramsey Peale, 1799-1885, and his Journals of the Wilkes Expedition. By Jessie Poesch. (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1961. 214 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Robert V. Hine.

"Nature and Art," an advertising slogan for the long-renowned Peale's Museum in Philadelphia, could well stand as a concise motif for the life of Titian Peale. Son of Charles Willson Peale, founder of the Museum but better known for his paintings, Titian stemmed from a line of artist-naturalists. The Museum, in which he was literally born and raised, was primarily a collection of birds, butterflies, rocks, shells—all manner of natural history—but it also included paintings. And the father's choice of names for his sons (Rubens, Rembrandt, Raphaelle, and Titian) suggests the artistic atmosphere.

Jessie Poesch in this excellent biography illuminates both of these aspects of Titian Peale. The period before 1840 was the age of the artist-naturalist, a time when a man could quite comfortably practice art as well as science and, like a tidal shoreline which is both land and sea, excel in elements of both. Titian Peale lived in deep awe and reverence for his subject, Nature itself, and he considered his art a tool for the further exploration of his love. For this reason he was perhaps a better naturalist than he was an artist, because he was devoted to accuracy and photographic representation. Imaginative distortion he would have considered criminal. As Poesch says, "It was not his fancy to depict 'fakes'." But his drawings and paintings were painstaking, sound, and competent, as the seventy-seven illustrations in this book abundantly attest.

Peale's life has particular interest to Westerners because of two episodes. He came West with Stephen Long on the expedition of 1819-20 which crossed the Plains, turned southward along the Rockies, and was largely responsible for the myth of the Great American Desert. On this expedition Peale was assistant naturalist and painter of natural history, and although Samuel Seymour, the artist of the expedition, has been traditionally given the distinction, Peale, Poesch concludes, should rightfully be included with Seymour as one of the first delineators of the Rocky Mountains.

His second Western experience comes closer to Californians. On the naval exploring expedition of 1838-42 under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes, Titian Peale was a part of the scientific corps. In 1841 his ship, the *Peacock,* was wrecked on the Columbia River bar, and the bedraggled crew was forced to march overland from Oregon to San Francisco Bay. They came down the Sacramento Valley and stopped at Fort Sutter and Missions San José and Santa Clara before joining the expedition in the Bay. Fort Sutter they found prosperous; the missions, as would be expected at this date, in decay.

The second part of the Poesch book is a printing of Peale's journal on the

Wilkes Expedition, complete except for two short, lost sections. The California portions have been published before in a handsome little volume edited by Clifford Drury for Glen Dawson's Early California Travel Series (1957). The Poesch edition, however, is more complete and has the advantage, which the earlier printing would not claim, of supplying the context of the whole expedition. Between the Poesch and the Drury versions, there are numerous disagreements on transcription.

Both parts of the Poesch book, the biography and the edited journal, are first-rate work. The biography takes a commendably broad view, giving a fine insight into the position of the artist-naturalist in early nineteenth-century America. It is well written and the conclusions seem sound. The journal, although of the official kind and hence not abounding in personal detail, is still a fine illustration of the man at work. Author and publisher are to be congratulated on a valuable addition to the history of nineteenth-century science and thought.

Robert V. Hine, who received his Ph.D. in Western history from Yale University, is associate professor of history at the University of California, Riverside. Interested in the cultural and scientific aspects of Western history, Professor Hine is the author of *California Utopian Colonies* and editor of *William Andrew Spalding, Los Angeles Newspaperman.*

A History of Lower California (The Only Complete and Reliable One). By Pablo L. Martínez. Translated by Ethel Duffy Turner. (Mexico, D. F., Editorial Baja California, 1960. 567 pp. $10.00.) Made available by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles. Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

A History of Lower California is an important contribution to the literature relating to a little known and seldom studied region. Heretofore, works pertaining to Baja California have been limited to original accounts such as those of Fathers Venegas and Baegert, studies of the Jesuit and Franciscan periods by Fathers Dunne and Engelhardt, and a series of popular travel books published in recent years. Inasmuch as the last general account of peninsular history was written in the eighteenth century by Father Francisco Javier Clavijero, Professor Martínez' book fills a definite need for an overview of the history of the area.

Originally published in 1956 as *Historia de Baja California,* the format of the Spanish edition is adhered to in the English translation. The first three parts of this work supply the reader with a background for the history of Lower California. Part I contains a geographical description of the area, and Part II is devoted to an anthropological discussion of the pre-Cortesian occupants of the peninsula – the Cochimí and the Guaycuran peoples. Part III covers the discovery period, and the military and commercial attempts at settlement from Cortés in 1532 to Atondo in 1683.

A great deal more attention is given to the religious occupation of Baja California than to earlier phases of history of the region. The periods of Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican activity (from the opening of Loreto by Father Salvatierra in 1687 to the missionary decline during the Wars of Independence) are covered in Parts IV and V.

The national period, beginning in 1822, is treated in Parts VI and VII. These sections, by far the most illuminating from the standpoint of an original contribution, consider the political history of the southern and northern divisions of Baja California from the time of the Constitution of 1824 to the date of publication.

As with any general history, omissions are found in Professor Martínez' work. A good map is conspicuous by its absence from Part I; and Chapter 31, which is entirely devoted to historical cartography, would more logically belong in this part. Inadequate attention to the Yuman groups is very apparent in Part III; however the succeeding parts supply the reader with a well-developed narrative, with the exception of Chapter 43, where an extraneous critique of Velasco Ceballos' works on the Flores Magón brothers appears.

While *A History of Lower California* is well written, the translation suffers from poor constructions and excessive literal interpretations (the reviewer has also read the Spanish edition). An absence of footnotes deprives the reader of the opportunity of investigating the author's sources for many points only touched upon lightly. Proofreading is also virtually non-existent, and many typographical errata are evident.

Notwithstanding the faults cited above, *A History of Lower California* is of value, both to the student and to the collector of Baja Californiana. This volume is well worth the price, especially considering its limitation to 3,100 copies and its unique contribution to the field.

Michael Mathes has been a resident of Baja California, both in Colonia Vicente Guerrero and Mexicali, and has made several trips by land throughout the peninsula. Mr. Mathes is presently engaged in graduate study in Mexican and Borderlands history at the University of Southern California.

Kirby Benedict, Frontier Federal Judge. By Aurora Hunt. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961. 268 pp. $9.00.) Reviewed by William C. Mathes.

As a judge, I find special interest in exploring, as it were, the judicial mind, dissecting its qualities and determining, if I can, its achievements and contributions to community and country.

This book, in large measure, fulfills such an interest. From the beginning we see the makings of a rather complex personality in Kirby Benedict, nurtured by his travel to Ohio from his boyhood home in Connecticut at the age of twenty-one, followed by his study of law under John Anthony Quitman in Natchez, Mississippi, then by his activities in Illinois, both in the practice of the law and in politics.

Even at the age of thirty-nine, in 1849, his restless spirit shows itself in a letter to Judge David Davis, wherein he expresses a desire to move to California, "not to dig out much gold, but to practic law permanently." This desire to move on from Illinois was no doubt prompted in part by several of Benedict's friends, such as Lincoln, Douglas, and Davis, who were then well on their way to distinguished careers, while Benedict's career, at least in politics, seemed to have come to an end.

After Benedict was considered for judgeships in Minnesota and the Washington Territory, in 1853 President Pierce finally appointed him associate judge of the immense Third Judicial District of New Mexico, where he was to serve later as chief justice and remain virtually for the rest of his life.

His character is reflected in several ways throughout the book: by his "most forcible, withering, and convincing" speech given in the Illinois legislature in favor of repeal of the charter of the Mormon city of Nauvoo; by his condemning to death in New Mexico a convicted murderer with the words, "The Lord will not have mercy on your soul!"; by his unselfish defense of the Acoma Indians in their legal struggle to regain certain ancestral documents of title in their land, and again with respect to preservation of a sacred portrait of their saint, San José; by his letter to President Lincoln on June 2, 1861, in which he states, "Better a thousand battlefields than anarchy."

He also shows himself a somewhat vain and self-righteous individual in his importuning of friends to influence his appointment and reappointment as judge. In letters to Lincoln and Attorney General Bates he describes his sacrifices as a judge but always candidly states his desire to continue in office.

Due in part to Benedict's propensity for drink as well as to political animosities, President Johnson did not reappoint him as judge, and he thereafter suffered disbarment as an attorney for improper conduct before the court. Finally, he became editor and then owner of the newspaper *New Mexico Weekly Union*, espousing the unlimited opportunities for settlement in the Southwest.

Kirby Benedict's life was a full one. Indeed, he accomplished in one lifetime what today would seemingly take several generations. Arriving in the New Mexico Territory at a time when virtually no laws had been adopted by the territorial legislature, Judge Benedict contributed to the legal stability of the area by reinterpreting and applying the civil law of Spain and Mexico which the people had known when the territory was under foreign rule. Later, his varied interests and unbounded energy prompted him to become instrumental in the formulation of an historical society to aid in preserving data which would record the growth of the territory for future generations. As a journalist, his editorials and letters expressed concern for a variety of subjects, ranging from the loyalties of territorial officials to the deportment of young women and the effects of drink.

He made a telling comment which set forth a major difference between the early development of the Southwest and that of other portions of the country. Observing that those Spaniards who first entered the region did not do so to escape from authority or from the rigors of their religion, but rather to preserve and extend authority and religion, Judge Benedict speculated that, "He [the Spaniard] brought with him a love of personal daring and superiority to pain and danger, that, had his mind been enlightened with the true ideas of freedom, would have made him the most formidable character upon the face of the earth."

Two important contributions are made by this biography. First, the author has employed well the technique of conveying history through the description of legal cases tried by, and before, Judge Benedict. This technique is an interesting one, for not only is the legal development and character of the particular jurist laid bare, but a judicious selection of case studies can, and here in part does, reflect the tenor of the life in the area. Second, the book portrays, however abbreviated in detail, the fascination of able men with the movement West in this country during the nineteenth century, and their determination to share in its development.

On the other hand, perhaps a valid criticism of the book lies in the failure of the author to describe more the conditions and life in the New Mexico Territory—a failure to provide a better view of the stage upon which Kirby Benedict acted, especially with regard to his legal contemporaries, so that the reader may place the actor in more accurate historical perspective. Still, an appendix and bibliography combine to disclose much original research on the part of the author.

In sum, the work should be recognized as a respectable contribution to the study of the legal development of the Southwest frontier.

WILLIAM C. MATHES, a graduate of the University of Texas and of Harvard Law School, has been United States District Judge since his appointment in 1945. A former president of the Los Angeles Bar Association, Judge Mathes is also a lecturer in trial practice at the University of California Law School, Los Angeles.

California Trail Herd: The 1850 Missouri-to-California Journal of Cyrus C. Loveland. Edited and annotated by Richard H. Dillon. (Los Gatos, The Talisman Press, 1961. 137 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

California had long been a pastoral land prior to 1848, so we might assume that the lusty young pioneers of the Gold Rush were supplied with meat from local herds. Naturally the early miners craved steaks and roast beef. Cattle owners in Los Angeles, "Queen of the Cow Counties," did take quick advantage of the sudden demand for beef. Many herds of native longhorns were driven to the mines, but this supply was neither adequate nor wholly satisfactory.

Until James Marshall's discovery, California raised cattle chiefly for the hides and tallow. Quality beef could not be expected from such livestock. Early attempts to improve the strain were made by crossing Durham bulls from Texas with the native longhorns. Before such measures could bear results, the exploding population in the north was hungry for more and more meat, and had gold dust to pay for it.

Since in a free economy supply quickly responds to demand, enterprising cattlemen, especially in Texas, were attracted by the high prices that beef was bringing in California. Texans were already accustomed to driving their herds long distances to such markets as New Orleans and St. Louis. In the Lone Star State, tradition has it that one T. J. Trimmier took the first herd of five hundred to California in 1848 where they brought $100 a head. Since an average steer cost as little as $5.00 in Texas, it is small wonder that cattlemen, used to the hard discipline of the frontier, were attracted. As Trimmier returned home, he passed many herds that were following the trail made by his own animals. During 1849 many more cattle were driven to California.

Cattlemen in other parts of the Southwest were quickly lured by this adventurous business. Herds were started from Missouri, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and even from Illinois. One such expedition was organized in 1850 by Walter Crow. He and his four sons lived on a farm near Bowling Green in Pike County, Missouri. Among his cowboys was Cyrus C. Loveland, native of Cooperstown, New York, who surprisingly happened to keep a daily journal of their long trek. Richard H. Dillon has edited and annotated that journal so that now, over a century later, it is available in book form after its many years in the California State Library. Mr. Dillon terms it "a unique ... account of this colorful and once important trade now forgotten." He wisely adds "so far" to his claim that the Loveland diary is unique. He also is cautious in asserting that the Crow-Loveland herd was "*one of the first* cattle drives to California from Missouri." We may well wait a long time before we find another account written on the trail by a drover of the Gold Rush period. Keeping a diary is a most unusual habit for cowboys. (Drover, incidentally, was usually the term applied to a cowboy in the 1850's.)

The Crows rounded up cattle at various points between Pike County and Boonville. The drive got under way on April 25, 1850, with a little over five hundred head. After five months of the most varied adventures, the survivors—both of men and cattle—arrived at Vernon, California, at the forks of the Feather and Sacramento rivers. Unfortunately the diary does not tell us how many cattle reached that destination.

Loveland's journal is doubtless as lean and sinewy as were the cattle when they finished their journey. Weather, hot, cold, or wind-tormented; the road itself, rough, rocky, miry, thick with dust—usually alkaline; wood, grass, and water—in the order of their importance to the drovers—these make up the details of the journal. The Crow party followed the trail up the Platte to South Pass, then down the Green and Bear, across to Fort Hall and thence to the Humboldt. From the sink of the latter they staggered across to the Truckee and eventually by Donner Pass, and the Bear and Feather rivers to the end of their trail. So many men have written of that route that it is easy to check Loveland's account and say he was observing and accurate. Only once does he plainly slip when he lifts Donner Pass some two thousand feet to an altitude of 9238.

His account is remarkable in one particular: the Crow party had only one serious brush with Indians. Undoubtedly savages often watched for opportunities to steal a stray animal, but this annoyance never passed the furtive and sneak thief stage until the herd was nearing the sink of the Humboldt. There six steers were driven off. A dozen of the drovers went in pursuit and had a skirmish with the Indians. Two of the drovers and four of the savages were slain. Some of the emigrants and other drovers were also potential thieves. If an animal strayed, some of these gentry believed in "finders keepers." On one occasion when a steer bearing Crow's brand was found in a neighboring herd, replevin was only accomplished with a pistol and the declared intention of using it.

Loveland doubtless never sensed the epic flavor of this adventure—as remote from our experience as a ballad of the Middle Ages. Pioneer locutions like "a widow lady," "we were give out," "we lay by," and "a going back" add to the journal's homespun quality.

Richard Dillon's Introduction comprises about a third of the book and adds greatly to its interest. Much scholarly research is evident, and this chapter is almost a history of the California cattle trade from its beginnings to the 1880's. The editor gleaned numerous data and statistics from newspapers of the period in California, Missouri, and Texas. While no bibliography is included, a great many authorities are cited. Dillon has made a real contribution to a little known segment of our state's pioneer history. In its field his review of the drovers and their routes merits comparison with Dale Morgan's exhaustive study of the emigrant trains that made the same overland journey as the Crow family and their drovers. I refer of course to his introductory chapter on *The Overland Diary of James A. Pritchard, from Kentucky to California in 1849.*

Dillon's readers will be forced to conclude that the members of these early drives were not merely enterprising but wholly fearless. For months on the trail they ran the risk of Indians, uncertain water and forage, poisonous weeds and alkaline water more deadly than the dry desert. Unbridged rivers, quicksands, and "roads" where the wagons had to be let down from precipices by ropes, were hazards sure to be encountered. (Loveland's journal recites an infinite variety of such misadventures as if they were routine incidentals.) The journey usually took from four to six months. Four men to a hundred head and a total herd of not over two thousand five hundred proved most practical. That this was an enterprise of epic proportion is evident when we read a Los Angeles newspaper report in 1852 that ninety thousand head of cattle had passed Fort Kearney, Nebraska, that spring and summer.

Dillon reminds us that in fiction and history the story of the overland cattle drives to California from the Midwest is virtually untold. "California's bandits, miners, 49'ers, railroaders and thespians have had more than their due... But hardly has there been a nod given to the man who epitomizes the West, the cowboy. Texas has all but canonized him but California has hardly allowed his name on the playbill of history."

Dwight L. Clarke, first vice-president of the California Historical Society and of the Historical Society of Southern California, is the author of *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West.*

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Hager

Well researched and presented, *Kern Panorama, A Pictorial Sketch of Kern County from 1866 to 1900,* by Ralph F. Kreiser and Thomas Hunt (Kern County Historical Society and Kern County Museum, Publication No. 25, 1961. 50 pp. $2.00), includes a historical sketch by Kreiser and a chronology for Kern County by Richard C. Bailey. Thomas Hunt served as the skilled assembler of the many fine and rare photographs used in this worthy historical record.

Much along these same lines are the sketches of the state's history found in Philip S. Rush's *A History of the Californias* (San Diego, 1958, 277 pp. $6.00). This is the third volume of Rush's series of popular miscellanies on northern, southern, and Baja California. Additional informative historical lore is found in the Addenda which includes outstanding dates in the history of the Californias, population charts, listings of officials of California and Baja California, and a particularly well-planned index.

With the issuance of Walt Wheelock's *Angels Flight* (Glendale, La Siesta Press, 1961. 36 pp. $1.00. With illustrations by Ruth Daly and an introduction by W. W. Robinson), the many faceted and ever changing face of Los Angeles will wear a patronizing and knowing smile when references are made to its miniature funicular railway, Angels Flight, on Bunker Hill. Wheelock has stepped to the front with his bent in historical research and has brought out a most creditable booklet giving finely detailed and informative backgrounds of this tiny, inclined railway which began operation in 1901 and still continues to give most welcome service to more passengers per mile than any other railway in the world.

Ruth Waldo Newhall's *The Folger Way, Coffee Pioneering Since 1850* (San Francisco, James H. Barry Co., n.d.) notes another Western business firm celebrating the centennial year of its coming to the West. A splendid historical review of the development of the Sugar and Spice Company, which has come to be known as the J. A. Folger & Company, is given.

Of historical importance to students of Western Americana will be *Overland in 1849, from Missouri to California by the Platte River and the Salt Lake Trail,* edited by Jessie H. Goodman (Los Angeles, privately printed, 1961. 56 pp. $7.50). This carefully edited account of the trek is from the letters of Gustavus G. Pearson. His comments and observations, of his experiences in Salt Lake City and at Cucamonga Rancho—a fine example of pastoral life in California—makes this work doubly appreciated and valued.

Thomas Barrett's *The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Cooke County, Texas,* a reprint by the Texas State Historical Association (Austin, 1961. 34 pp.), is a local history covering a Unionist plan to dismember north Texas that brought about the senseless and tragic hanging of some forty men in Gainesville during the tense days of the Civil War.

The fine work of Editor Jeff C. Dykes is evident in *The West of the Texas Kid, 1881-1910, Recollections of Thomas Edgar Crawford* (Norman, 1962. 200 pp. $2.00). Throughout these recollections of Crawford the personal tone has been untouched, and the reader is given a clear view into the experiences of the Texas Kid.

In *Star of India, the Log of an Iron Ship* (Berkeley, Howell-North, 1961. 133 pp. $3.75), Jerry MacMullen, director of the Junípero Serra Museum of San Diego, has written the definitive history of a good ship, the *Star of India,* launched and christened *Euterpe,* on the Isle of Man in 1863. Well documented and illustrated, it is the story of her jaunty past, of the misuse and disuse during her retirement years in the Oakland Estuary, and of the tremendous job of face-lifting and restoration. MacMullen's book is one-half of a life long dream: the second will be realized in 1963 upon the full restoration of the *Star of India* as a museum ship in San Diego Harbor.

A brief and sketchy outline history of our development from a weak union of thirteen states to a nation of fifty within six generations is presented in Dana Lee Thomas' *The Story of American Statehood* (New York, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1961. 275 pp. $4.95). In this work Thomas restates many popular stories of the men and women who helped in their own way to prepare the entrance of their home state into the United States.

Fiction is capably covered in Editor Omar S. Barker's *Frontiers West,* which was written by members of the Western Writers of America (New York, Doubleday & Co., 1959. 286 pp. $3.95). This organization of professional authors, banded together to encourage better quality writing, offers its seventh annual anthology, consisting of a collection of twenty previously unpublished stories. Included among the works are those of Noel M. Loomis, John Myers Myer, A. B. Guthrie, Jr., Todhunter Ballard, Hal G. Evarts, Bill Gulick, and others.

A quiet, sincere, and dedicated worker in the field of Californiana has been Leo J. Friis of Orange County, whose literary efforts show a keen and enthusiastic response to the historical backgrounds of people and places. Over the years Mr. Friis has built up a research file containing much material on the local scene and its personalities. *George Washington Barter, Pioneer Editor* (Santa Ana, Pioneer Press, 1962. 18 pp.), a result of this interest and effort, portrays the life of one of Orange County's most colorful and intriguing persons. Barter revived a campaign to separate the southeast portion of Los Angeles County, as early as 1870, urged the development of Anaheim Landing, and served as editor of the *Los Angeles Star.*

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Michael Mathes

BOOKS

Anderson. Clinton H. *Beverly Hills Is My Beat.* New York, Popular Library, 1962. $0.50

Austin, Mary. *The Land of Little Rain.* Garden City, Doubleday, 1962. $0.95

Bidwell, John. *Echoes of the Past.* New York, Citadel Press, 1962. $1.25

Bingaham, John W. *Guardians of the Yosemite: A Story of the First Rangers.* Palm Desert, John W. Bingaham, 1961. $2.50

Blaisdell, Lowell L. *The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. $6.00

Brenton, Thaddeus R. T. *Bahía, Ensenada and Its Bay: Freedom, Farce, Fiesta and Frustration in a Small Mexican City.* Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1961. $5.50

Busch, Niven. *The San Franciscans.* New York, Simon and Schuster, 1962. $4.95

California Interstate Telephone Company. *Romantic Heritage of Douglas-Alpine.* Victorville, California Interstate Telephone Company, 1961. Gratis

California Interstate Telephone Company. *Romantic Heritage of Inyo-Mono.* Victorville, California Interstate Telephone Company, 1961. Gratis

California Interstate Telephone Company. *Romantic Heritage of Mojave River Valley.* Victorville, California Interstate Telephone Company, 1961. Gratis

California Interstate Telephone Company. *Romantic Heritage of Upper Mojave Desert.* Victorville, California Interstate Telephone Company, 1961. Gratis

California Interstate Telephone Company. *Romantic Heritage of Victor Valley.* Victorville, California Interstate Telephone Company, 1961. Gratis

California Manufacturers Annual Register. *1962.* Los Angeles, Times-Mirror Press, 1962. $30.00

Carney, Francis. *The Rise of the Democratic Clubs in California.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962. $0.50

Corle, Edwin. *Death Valley and Furnace Creek.* Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962. $7.50

Clifford, Henry H., ed. *The Westerners Brand Book. Book Nine.* Los Angeles, Los Angeles Corral, 1961. $20.00

Dixon, Ben F., ed. *Our Book of Jubilee, 1886-1961. Central Christian Church, San Diego, California.* San Diego, Central Christian Church, 1961. $5.00 (plastic), $4.00 (cloth)

Dobyns, Henry F., ed. *Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, During* *the Years 1848-1849.* Tucson, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961. $12.50

DURRENBERGER, ROBERT W. *Sources of Information about California.* Northridge, Roberts Publishing Co., 1961. $3.95

ENARI, LEONID. *Ornamental Shrubs of California.* Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962. $5.95

FAVOUR, ALPHEUS HOYT. *Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. $4.00

FORD, HENRY CHAPMAN. *Etchings of California.* N.p., Edward Selden Spaulding, 1961. $6.50

FORD, JOHN ANSON. *Thirty Explosive Years in Los Angeles County.* San Marino, Huntington Library, 1961. $6.00

FREISER, RALPH F., and THOMAS HUNT. *Kern Panorama.* Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society and Kern County Museum, 1961. $2.25

FRYXELL, FRITIOF., ed. *François Matthes and the Marks of Time.* San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1962. $7.50

GARDNER, ERLE STANLEY. *Hovering Over Baja.* New York, Morrow, 1961. $6.00

GIBBS, JAMES A. *Shipwrecks of the Pacific Coast.* Portland, Binfords & Mort, 1962. $4.50

GIESLER, JERRY. *Hollywood Lawyer.* New York, Pocket Books, 1962. $0.50

GILLIAM, HAROLD. *Island in Time: The Point Reyes Peninsula.* San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1962. $3.95

GREENWOOD, ROBERT, ed. *California Imprints, 1833-62.* Los Gatos, Talisman Press, 1961. $15.00

GRIFFITH, CORINNE. *Hollywood Stories.* New York, Frederick Fell, 1962. $5.00

HANSEN, KAYE WELCH. *A Book of Water Colors and the Story of Hearst San Simeon Castle.* Minneapolis, Denison, 1962. $1.00

HENDERSON, RANDALL. *On Desert Trails.* Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1961. $5.00

HEPBURN, ANDREW. *Complete Guide to Northern California.* New York, Doubleday, 1962. $1.95

HEPBURN, ANDREW. *Complete Guide to Southern California.* New York, Doubleday, 1962. $1.95

HINE, ROBERT V. *Edward Kern and American Expansion.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962. $6.00

HUNT, ROCKWELL D. *Personal Sketches of California Pioneers I Have Known.* Stockton, University of the Pacific, 1962. $6.50

KEMBLE, EDWARD. *History of California Newspapers.* Los Gatos, Talisman Press, 1962. $8.50

LEE, WILLIAM S. *The Sierra.* New York, Putnam, 1962. $5.95

LE ROY, BRUCE, ed. *H. M. Chittenden: A Western Epic. Being a Selection from*

His Unpublished Journals, Diaries, and Reports. Tacoma, Washington State Historical Society, 1961. $10.00

Lewis, Oscar. *This Was San Francisco.* New York, David McKay, 1962. $5.95

Los Angeles County Museum, History Division. *Los Angeles, 1900-1961.* Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum, 1961. $1.00

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Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1961 and 1962.

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In Memoriam

W. BARCLAY STEPHENS, M.D.

With the death of Dr. W. Barclay Stephens on March 1, 1962, the San Francisco-Bay Area lost one of its best-known and well-beloved ophthalmologists, who was widely known for his professional and philanthropic work. Dr. Stephens, who was ninety-three at the time of his death, was a member of the California Historical Society since 1954.

Dr. Stephens was born in Paris, Kentucky, January 4, 1869. After completion of his medical training, he opened an office in Alameda in 1893, where he practiced as an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist until he retired.

Active in civic affairs in Alameda, Dr. Stephens founded the Alameda Boy Scouts Council in 1916 and served as its president for 15 years. In addition, he was instrumental in founding the Alameda Sanitarium, which is now the Alameda Hospital.

One of his basic philosophies was that "every man should have a hobby and learn to ride it before he reaches middle age." Dr. Stephens' hobby was collecting watches and clocks, and his excellent collection is on exhibit at the Academy of Sciences in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park where he was honorary curator of horology. He was also the donor of the horological exhibit at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

In addition to the many medical societies to which he belonged, he was a diplomate of the American Board of Ophthalmology and of the American Board of Oto-Laryngology. He was also a member of the Alameda Rotary Club, the Alameda Lodge BPOE, and honorary member of the Alameda Historical Society.

Dr. Stephens is survived by two sons: Bruce M. Stephens, M.D., and Stuart B. Stephens, M.D.; a sister, Mrs. Woodford Spears; a daughter, Elizabeth S. Virgin. In addition, there are four grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

Dr. Stephens led an interesting and full life. The loss of his kindly interest in the young people with whom he came in contact will leave a lasting void.

FREDERICK C. CORDES, M.D.

STANLEY ALEXANDER EASTON

Stanley Alexander Easton, internationally known mining engineer, died on December 17, 1961, in Santa Barbara. He was for twenty years a valued and generous sustaining member of the California Historical Society.

Mr. Easton was born in Santa Cruz on April 7, 1873; he graduated from the University of California College of Mines with the class of 1894. At the university he was a member of the football team which played against Stanford in 1892, the first of the traditional "big games" between these two universities. In addition to a professional career, he found time for an active outdoor life. He was an experienced hunter of bear, elk, and deer and was also a skillful fisherman.

Following his college years, Mr. Easton established himself in Kellogg, Idaho, the location of the Bunker Hill Company; he lived there for many years and later in Coeur d'Alene. A life-long Republican he served as a member of the Idaho Republican delegation to three national conventions for nominations of the candidates for President and Vice-President. Known as an outstanding industrialist, Mr. Easton had a long-time interest in public education and in greater opportunities for young people. He was named a regent of the University of Idaho in 1921 and was an overseer of Whitman College, Washington. He held honorary degrees from the University of California, Whitman College, the College of Idaho, the University of Idaho, and Washington State College. He was very active in the Boy Scout movement.

He was a member of AIMME, Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, London, England, and was on the Board of Governors, Spokane Branch, Federal Reserve Board of San Francisco. He was also a member of the Society of California Pioneers, Delta Kappa Epsilon, the Pacific Union Club of San Francisco, and the Elks Lodge.

For nearly twenty-five years he was a director of General Telephone Company of the Northwest; in 1948 he was elected chairman of the board of "top flight executives" of the largest Coeur d'Alene mining company, the Pend Orielle Mines and Metals Companies, in planning a far-reaching program for expansion of the production of lead and zinc; in 1933 he became the president of the Bunker Hill Company of Idaho.

Upon his retirement he moved to Santa Barbara to complete there his long life begun as a California native son.

JOHN EASTON PORTER

JOHN THOMAS SCOTT

The death of John Thomas Scott at his home in Oakland on March 23, 1961, closed a long and colorful career of one of California's pioneer industrialists with a direct link with the beginning of the steel-hulled ship building industry in the West.

Mr. Scott was born in Hartford County, Maryland, on December 21, 1864, of Quaker parents whose forebear, Abraham Scott, arrived in America from Tiffenwait, England, on June 22, 1722. His birthplace, an historically significant home called Wildfell, is still in the family; it was built in 1845 to an octagonal plan from solid timbers salvaged from an early American sailing vessel that had seen service as an armed merchantman during the War of 1812.

Thus harbored by sturdy timbers that had sailed the seven seas, it is little wonder that Mr. Scott chose to come to California in 1881, at the age of seventeen, to take a position as a draftsman with the Union Iron Works, which was headed by his uncle, Irving Murray Scott. He rose to the position of superintendent in charge of construction; and on the drawing boards and in the shops he pioneered the fabrication of many of the innovations and developments of the railroad, mining, lumbering, and ship building industry on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Scott went to sea as an oiler on one of the first steamships built by the firm to gain experience with the problems and life on the high seas.

In 1889 he was sent to Korea to consult with the Imperial staff and to oversee the installation of machinery made by the Union Iron Works for a hydro-electric plant in northern Korea. The machinery arrived safely at Seoul; but much of it never reached its destination—the natives having their own way of dealing with the threat of their jobs by automation.

In 1905 he joined forces with Robert and Joseph A. Moore and bought a small machine shop in San Francisco, which they renamed the Moore and Scott Iron Works. Four years later, this firm bought the Boole Shipyard on the Oakland estuary and moved their operations to the East Bay, where the firm grew to be a power in the shipbuilding and steel fabricating industry.

Mr. Scott sold his interests to Moore, and at the outbreak of World War I, with his uncles Henry T. and Irving M., organized and built the facilities of the Pacific Coast Shipbuilding Company at Bay Point, now Port Chicago, in Contra Costa County. This plant started with a contract to build ten merchant vessels for the government. This was augmented by contracts for another sixty vessels, and the work force was boosted to nearly 3,000. This necessitated the building of a government housing project at the community of Clyde, which was planned by the famous architect Bernard Maybeck. The end of the war in 1918 brought the urgency to an abrupt end and the plant was taken over by the government.

Mr. Scott was a great lover of the out-of-doors, and in his youth traveled the dusty roads of California by bicycle. With the advent of the horseless buggy, he switched to that mode of travel into the hinterland, at a time when it was necessary to fell trees and chain them to the rear of the automobile to help the inadequate brakes in the descent of narrow and steep grades. His great love was fishing, and until his ninety-fourth year he would spend weeks on the waters of the Klamath or Smith rivers in northern California fishing for salmon.

Mr. Scott left no progeny. After the death of his wife, Katherine Manlove, he was married to Dr. Bertha E. Jenkins, who predeceased him.

A. LEWIS KOUÉ

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Albert Shumate, m.d., president of the Society, examines rare old medical photographs with Samuel Ladar, first vice-president of Mount Zion Hospital and Medical Center. These photographs were donated to the Society by Mount Zion Hospital during the celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary in April, 1962. *Courtesy of Mount Zion Hospital.*

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What the Records Reveal
By LEONARD ROWE and WILLIAM BUCHANAN

Bull Moose Plays an Encore:
Hiram Johnson and the Presidential Campaign of 1932
By MARTY HAMILTON

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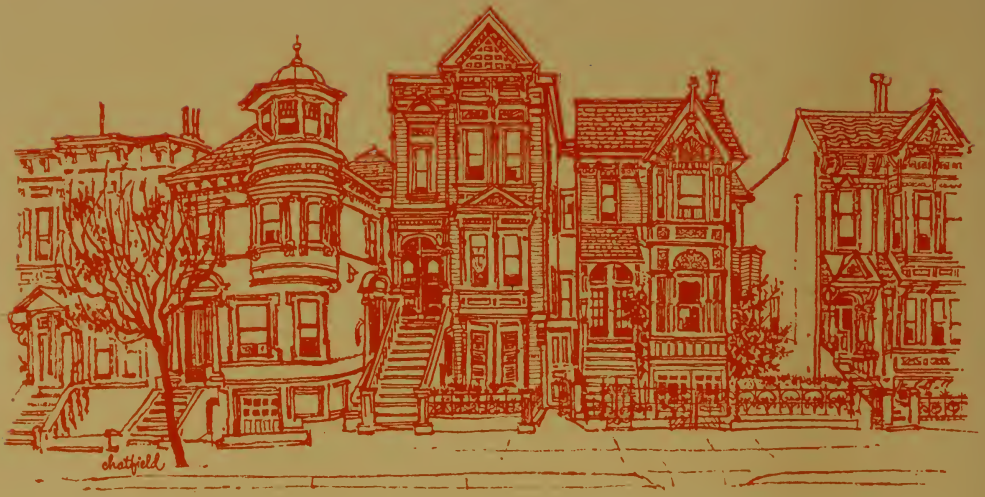
Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay in 1579
By WALTER A. STARR

SEPTEMBER 1962



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Campaign Funds in California:

What the Records Reveal

By

LEONARD ROWE and WILLIAM BUCHANAN

THE RECENT PUBLICATION of Alexander Heard's *The Costs of Democracy*,[1] which goes far beyond the pioneering works of a quarter-century ago,[2] shows that we know, or can find out, a great deal more about how political campaigns are financed than we had hitherto suspected. It suggests that the rumors, myths, suspicions, and scapegoating which have surrounded the discussion of money in elections may in time give way to a more accurate and dispassionate evaluation. But laws concerning the reporting of expenses must be improved, and students need to devote more effort to the analysis of these reports as they become available at the local level. Expenditure statements do not speak for themselves.

This study is based upon readily available campaign expenditure statements filed in Sacramento in the office of the secretary of state of California. Examination of them led us to conclusions which, we must note in advance, are superficially contradictory. One conclusion is that

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LEONARD ROWE recently joined the faculty at Brown University. He has been an associate of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, where he investigated the problem of political controls in the Soviet Union. He served as lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley, after receiving his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees there. He is the author of *Pre-Primary Endorsements in California Politics* and coauthor with Professor Joseph P. Harris of the second edition of *California Politics*.

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the reporting of contributions by California candidates still leaves a great deal to be desired in completeness, accuracy, and internal consistency. There are obvious, often large, gaps in the record. The other conclusion is that in spite of these laws a great deal may be demonstrated or inferred from the records. Even so faulty a system sheds considerable light on who foots the bills for California's expensive electoral process, if one will only subject it to a reasonable painstaking comparative examination.

California is a state where campaign costs are relatively high.[3] In the past this has been attributed to the rapidly increasing, newly arrived, highly mobile population in the cities, the size of the state and the heterogeneity of its population, the weakness of parties, and the necessity for individual candidates to rely on mass media and public relations firms. These conditions still prevail, although in recent years parties have become more active.

Flaws in the Reporting System

The California Election Code requires every candidate for office, as well as campaign committees, to file a postelection statement of expenses indicating the purpose for which the money was spent and listing the persons or agencies who contributed it. The form for reports, although not specified by law, is rather detailed, especially with respect to expenditures. These reports are filed with the secretary of state and are available for inspection in the archives.[4] No certificate of nomination (in the primary) or of election (in November) is issued to the victorious candidate unless he files such a statement. Unsuccessful candidates are under no such compulsion, but three out of four do in fact file statements, which are not substantially less complete than those of the winning candidates. With a few notable exceptions, those who fail to file statements are revealed by their small vote totals to be marginal candidates in the primary.

We may detect when candidates fail to file merely by comparing the expense reports with the election returns and noting the differences. It is different with campaign committees, however. There is no complete listing of committees operating in an election, so we have no way of ascertaining whether there are campaign committees which do not file or how many. That there are some is revealed by the fact that candidates declare contributions from them. It is ironic that the California law, which regulates parties so excessively that they are inhibited from performing some of their campaigning functions, is much vaguer when it comes to responsibility for reporting on finances. Among the partisan, party auxiliary and interest-group organizations making contributions have been the United Republican Finance Committee, Dollars for Democrats, Committee for the Election of State Elective Offices Only, For America, the Southland Committee, and others. Some of these filed their own statements; others did not. In addition there were a host of local, *ad hoc*, one-candidate committees that did not file statements. Candidates recorded contributions *from* them, but no one revealed who contributed *to* them.

More exasperating than the outright failure to file is the incomplete or misleading report. The secretary of state, like most other recipients of expense statements throughout the nation, considers his function to be purely ministerial—he does not go beyond the face of the statement. There is no agency in California which considers itself responsible for examining these statements, raising questions, or initiating action in case of manifest violation. They are filed in an out-of-the-way room in the Capitol basement, and there they stay. After each election the press summarizes contributions to top-of-the-ticket campaigns and major ballot propositions, but reporters do not have time or interest for a meticulous examination of the statements.

Inadequacies in the reports take several forms. In one, only a fraction of the total expenditures are reported. We know this because the closeness of the election, the size of the district, and the expenditures of other candidates in similar electoral situations all point to a higher expenditure. The candidate simply could not have waged as successful a campaign as he did for the amount set forth. Harder to detect is *systematic* underreporting by many candidates. Presumably there are unreported items. There are, moreover, contributions in goods and services that even the most conscientious reporter would have difficulty in estimating. What about door-to-door solicitation by volunteers—union members for example? If their meals and expenses are paid by someone else, is this a contribution? What if they are paid by the workers themselves? How about the corporation who lends an expensive advertising consultant; how much does he contribute if he advises during working hours? After hours? What about endorsements mailed by a group to its own members? To nonmembers? How about a newspaper's editorial support? Free billboard space? It is obvious that at some point the concept of "campaign contribution" breaks down and further reporting becomes impossible. The standards are probably quite variable, but the direction of the bias is toward underreporting.

Since we were interested in sources of contributions, rather than purposes for which they were expended, we did not analyze the expenditure statements. There is a mine of information in them for students of campaign techniques. Such an analysis might well pursue the distinction between contributions in kind and in cash and thence lead to a better estimate of the level of underreporting.

A second common deficiency in reporting is the failure to identify adequately the source of campaign funds. Some candidates hesitate to reveal their sources of support. Even where candidates are willing, some contributors request or demand anonymity. Aside from contributions which, in flagrant violation of the law, are not reported, there are several dodges to obscure the source. Contributions are listed as coming from fund-raising events such as dinners or from *ad hoc* committees with no indication of who the primary contributors were. Contributions are set down as coming from law firms; one conjectures that a client is somewhere in the background. Names of individual contributors are listed, but their business connections, which may be relevant to the contribution, are not revealed. For a hypothetical case: Is the "Ed Jones" listed as a contributor of $500 Edmund Jones, the cigarette lobbyist, Edward Jones, the candidate's brother-in-law, Edwin Jones, one of the legislative advocates of the Teamster's Union, or Edgar Jones, the Democratic party angel? Further obfuscation is achieved when Jones' $500 is lumped in with ten $10 gifts, and a total of $600 is listed as coming from the eleven persons, with no indication of who gave what. As the law now operates, a candidate may submit a completely meaningless report with impunity.

As a matter of fact, the majority of the candidates do not resort to these subterfuges. Campaign financing is a fact of political life—recognized if not discussed. It is doubtful that candidates derive satisfaction from deliberately falsifying a return; they do so only when they feel it is necessary for their political safety or out of negligence. We have only impressionistic judgments as a basis for this statement, but we feel that in *fewer than a fourth* of the returns we examined the candidates have deliberately obscured the sources of their larger contributions, though there is no legal mechanism to prevent all of them from doing so.

This does not mean that the system cannot break down. It may be in the process of doing so, for it is our impression that the newer members are more meticulous in their reporting than the old hands. It suggests, however, that even a poorly enforced accounting system can rely upon substantial voluntary cooperation. An agency, governmental, academic, or private, that undertook to analyze the returns, query the candidates about discrepancies, and summarize and publish results, could in a few years improve the reporting. A set of forms which were easier to fill out would help.[5] The requirement that contributions of more than $50 ($25?, $100?) be itemized might encourage the minority who do not do this to join the majority who do. Blanks for the name *and address* of these major contributors might be put on the form. All of these provisions could be achieved without putting any more "teeth" in the present law. These recommended provisions avoid the assumption implicit in some reporting laws that the candidate for public office is a criminal, conspiring with his campaign contributors to mislead and delude the voters.

FINANCING CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS

Despite the shortcomings listed above, and the cautions they impose upon interpretations, one may still draw some useful conclusions about campaign financing in California. Due to the omissions and errors, however, we will confine ourselves to the examination of legislative campaign contributions, federal and state, taking the last year in which cross filing was in effect, 1958.[6] Major offices and ballot propositions with declared expenses in the millions of dollars are treated elsewhere.[7] Legislative reports have the advantage of providing a large enough number of races (thirty Congressional, eighty assembly, and twenty senatorial) to permit semistatistical analysis, which smooths over individual misstatements and discrepancies.

Altogether there were 487 candidates in the contested races in 1958 who filed reports listing a total of roughly $2,350,000. This is an absolute minimum estimate of the cost of Congressional and state legislative races in California. There is no reason to suspect that any of the candidates listed more gifts than they received or more expenditures than they actually made. There are some instances in which expenditures were obviously underreported, for these reports were far below the norm for comparable races in constituencies of about the same size and character. While this is no more than a guess, we would set the total figure that *could have been reported,* had all candidates and committees chosen to report completely, at three to three and a half million dollars. Beyond this there are contributions in goods and services which, as we observed, even the most conscientious reporter would have difficulty estimating.

Lumping Congressional, state senatorial, and assembly races—both primary and general—we find that the average cost is fifteen cents per vote. In smaller districts where the total vote is less than forty thousand the average cost per vote is somewhat higher—running to slightly over twenty cents. This would suggest that there are certain fixed costs in a campaign regardless of the number of votes sought. A corollary speculation is that persons or groups wishing to acquire influence and benefits through contributions receive a bargain by supporting candidates in the underpopulated senate districts.

While the amount of money spent by a candidate roughly varied in proportion to the number of votes he received, it would be fallacious to assume or conclude that the votes are "bought" either directly or indirectly through propaganda and electioneering. A strong correlation between the two quantities exists. The campaign contributions are made and expended before the votes are cast. They are spent for the express purpose of influencing votes, and altogether a strong *post hoc quod propter hoc* case can be made that spending money gets one elected, although a better case can be made that not spending money does not get one elected. The apparent correlation is due primarily to the fact that campaigning is more expensive when a large number of voters must be reached. This is demonstrated by the fact that expenditures increase not only with the number of votes received but also with the number of voters in the district. Moreover, in each district size bracket there are a number of weak candidates, especially in the primary, without any apparent significant support. These "self-starters" spend $100 to $1,000 and receive one thousand to five thousand votes, depending on the size of the district. The small size of both their campaign cost and their vote is, one suspects, less related to each other than to a third factor, the "electability" of the candidates. Only in certain rare circumstances, as will be seen, do contributors lavish a great deal of money on candidates who have little prospect of winning.

Prospective candidates who wish to use the 1958 experience as a gauge for what they may expect to spend in their own campaign (campaign managers have been using the figure of ten cents per rural vote and twenty cents per urban vote as a rule of thumb) should adjust these figures to account for the demise of cross filing. Assuming the average candidate will aim at securing twenty-five per cent of the total vote to win the primary, and then sixty per cent of the total vote to win the general election, this may be reduced to a formula of eighty-five per cent of the vote in the last election plus an estimate for the increase of the electorate, times fifteen cents. As an alternative calculation, a fairly steady average of six cents *per vote cast* was reported, independently of the vote gained by the individual candidate. In smaller districts with fewer than forty thousand votes cast this figure was closer to eleven cents per voter. It should again be noted that this is a minimum—candidates and their friends may have spent money that they did not report. On this basis, a cost of $10,000 for an average assembly candidate and $20,000 for a Congressional candidate seems to be a reasonable rough estimate for the 1960's.

Turning now to the breakdown by parties, we find that the 238 Republican candidates spent about $1.3 million and received 7.25 million votes in all six contests in 1958 (Congress, state senate, and assembly in the primary and general election). The 250 Democrats spent slightly over $1 million and received 8.5 million votes. This works out to eighteen cents per vote for Republicans and twelve cents for Democrats—a substantial difference.[8] Despite greater Republican expenditures, it was a Democratic year.

The sources of funds varied considerably both with the candidate's party and with his status—whether he was an incumbent, one of several candidates in an open race for a vacated seat, or one who challenged the incumbent in the primary or general election. A rough allocation of the sources of campaign funds may be made, but here again we are dealing with *minima*. Not all candidates itemized the amounts they received from each source, and those who itemized did not always do so in a fashion that permitted us to allocate them.

The largest source of funds, and the most difficult one to appraise, consisted of individual personal gifts. On a large majority of the reports these were itemized by amount, on the rest names were simply listed alongside a grand total. The names of men prominent in the party, the names of lobbyists, fellow legislators, and some members of the candidate's family were easy to identify. Others were less so: the local representative of a pressure group, a local party contributor, a business associate, an in-law—these names were meaningless except to a knowledgeable resident of the particular community. They make up the residual category.

In the same category are the inexplicit statement of sources: "anonymous," "personal friend," "testimonial dinner," "Goober for Assembly Committee," "small contributions," and "various sources" were among the identification labels used. Into this residual category also fall all discrepancies, as when total receipts amount to considerably more, or considerably less, than total expenditures (and both these occurred more than once).

The other categories—self and family, labor unions, other lobbies, and party sources—included identifiable contributions of more than $50. All smaller gifts, and all obscure doubtful listings, were left in the residual category. The categories are:

Self and Family: This included all amounts listed as coming from the candidate himself and others with the same surname. It also included all loans—bank, personal, and otherwise—and all deficits recognizable as such. The personal contributions of the candidate may be even larger, for example, where expenditures exceeded receipts, and of course the financial loss represented by time taken out for campaigning cannot be counted.

Party Sources: In California's tradition of nonpartisanship, what constitutes a party organization, as distinguished from a personal one, is not always entirely clear. In this study we sought the word "Democratic" or "Republican" or the equivalent, and did not list "dinner committees" or "campaign committees" unless they were identified as party committees. Because of this, it is likely that the party contribution is underestimated. Also omitted were contributions from persons recognizable as "party angels." Particularly in the Democratic party, some men of means made contributions of several hundred dollars to a number of candidates to the legislature. Counting them as party sources would have led to a difficult distinction between a personal and a partisan contribution. Since Republican "party angels" were more likely to give through the United Republican Finance Committees, they were less likely to be counted as individuals.

Labor Unions: These, on the whole, were easiest to identify. They included locals of the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and Teamsters, COPE, and some committees "against right-to-work" which made contributions to individual candidates in connection with the fight over Proposition 18 (right-to-work) on the ballot that year. Counted in this category were state labor organizations and contributions listed in the reports under the names of union lobbyists.

Lobbies: Fees of these contributions were listed by the name of the organization—Brewers, Dairymen, Dispensing Opticians, Barbers, etc. Most of them, however, appeared under the name of the chief lobbyist, or in the name of a law firm representing the industry. These were the most difficult to identify. Beer, wine, and liquor interests made contributions under half a dozen names. The *List of Legislative Advocates* published by the state legislature helped identify some of these, and others became apparent when the same name appeared as contributors to candidates of both parties. In some cases a lobbyist making contributions was registered with several groups, and one could not be certain which group put up the money.

Wherever there was a serious doubt, a gift was left in the residual category. On a number of reports the names of family, of party organs, of labor unions, or of lobbyists appeared, but without specific amounts. So we know that the figures presented here are underestimates of their respective categories. Defying allocation, they helped swell the residual category. *Nearly $1.2 million of the $2.3 million reported in contributions, more than half of the total, falls under the residual category*. Even considering that much of this residual category is made up of identifiable individual contributions of less than $50 each, there is enough unidentifiable money left to point up the inadequacy of California's reporting system and cast a dark shadow over any conclusions drawn from the data. Despite this, we may still learn a good deal about patterns of contributions in a California Legislative election contest.

PARTY CANDIDATES AND SOURCES OF FUNDS

Looking at major fund source categories and their distribution to candidates of both political parties, we find the following breakdown:

SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF $50 AND MORE IN THE 1958 ELECTION FOR CONGRESS AND THE STATE LEGISLATURE IN CALIFORNIA

	SELF AND FAMILY	PARTY	LABOR	LOBBIES	TOTAL
Democrats	$ 86,600	$105,500	$140,300	$48,000	$ 380,400
Republicans	99,700	582,700	10,100	43,100	735,600
Total	$186,300	$688,200	$150,400	$91,100	$1,116,000

It would appear that, lumping all four source categories together, (self and family, party, labor, lobbies) Republican candidates received nearly twice as much money than their Democratic opponents. While in all likelihood Republicans received more than Democrats, this nearly two-to-one ratio derived from the records is an exaggeration due in part to better reporting practices by some Republican candidates, and particularly the United Republican Finance Committee of Los Angeles County. This enabled us to identify sources more readily than was possible from many Democratic reports. This also caused the residual, unallocated, category of the Democrats to remain higher than of the Republicans—$620,000 for Democrats as against $564,000 for Republicans.

In two of the categories—self and family, and lobbies—there appear to be no significant differences between the two parties. A word must be said about identifiable lobby contributions. Our calculations showing that Democratic candidates received greater support from lobbies than Republicans ($48,000 as against $43,100) does not necessarily disprove the general belief that Republicans are normally the greater beneficiaries from these sources. In all likelihood considerable lobby support was channeled through the United Republican Finance Committee, the financial arm of the Republican party. These would then show up in the reports and in our calculations as party rather than lobby funds.

It is in the contributions from party and labor sources that the differences between the two major parties are striking. As the above tables shows, Republican candidates received from their party sources $582,700 while the Democrats received only $105,500—a ratio of more than five to one. While some of the difference must again be ascribed to better Republican reporting practices, the inescapable conclusion is that through the United Republican Finance Committee the Republicans succeeded in obtaining greater party control over campaign finances than the Democrats. The Republican party organization succeeded in placing itself between the contributor and the candidate-beneficiary, thus exercising greater control over the allocation of funds and, not unimportantly, to some extent over the selection of candidates. While by no means all Republican campaign finance flows through the URFC—individual candidates and campaign committees also set up their own fund-raising organizations—the URFC has become instrumental in increasing party control over the financing of political campaigns. On the contrary, the Democrats do not have such a unitary central finance organization and for the most part each candidate relies on his ability to obtain the necessary financial support directly from the contributors.

The strikingly one-sided distribution of labor money—nearly fourteen dollars to Democrats for every dollar given to Republicans—comes as no surprise and simply reflects the affinity between organized labor and many Democratic candidates.[9]

In addition to throwing some light on sources of funds to party candidates, the campaign statements provide significant data on relative differences between primary and general election campaigns, incumbents and challengers, and other relevant categories. The assembly is perhaps the best source of such information because of the large number of members, and therefore of contests and of reports, which give more reliability to the averages. State senate contests are fewer, and in 1958 ranged widely in size from the 3,496 votes needed to win the Alpine-Mono-Inyo seat for Charles Brown to the 1,409,469 required to win the Los Angeles seat for Richard Richards, both Democrats. They will be used here mostly as a check on trends observed in the assembly. The real differences in amount and source of contributions, however, were those between incumbents, challengers of incumbents, and those who entered open races.

INCUMBENTS

Primary election campaign statements were filed by twenty-nine Democratic assembly incumbents. Some won election in the primary by cross filing, but twenty-one were forced into a November campaign. Comparable figures for Republicans were thirty-seven and thirty-six. The Democrats' average expenditures for *both* contests was $6,300, of which $1,150 (about eighteen per cent) came from labor and a like amount from other lobbies. Democratic incumbents received very little financial support from party sources—approximately $250 each on the average. Some of them in fact accepted contributions from lobby groups and then passed them on to other Democratic candidates in less safe seats.

The Republican average for the two races was higher—$9,200, of which some $4,000 (forty-four per cent) came from party sources, generally from the United Republican Finance Committee. They received considerably less from lobbyists than did the Democrats, though, as indicated earlier, it is probable that the more conservative pressure groups made substantial contributions through the United Republican Finance Committee. Republican incumbents received only small contributions from labor—$250 each on the average—but it is significant that these incumbents, some of whom were from safe seats, were virtually the only Republicans to receive *any* funds from unions. This is meaningful in contrast to the day not long ago when a number of San Francisco Bay Area districts regularly returned Republicans who received endorsement and considerable financial support from the American Federation of Labor.

Democratic incumbent state senators were among the worst about itemizing their campaign statements, so no conclusions may be drawn from them. Republican state senators received an average of $3,100 each (twenty-nine per cent) from their party and $1,300 (twelve per cent) from lobby sources. Democrats averaged expenditures of $18,500 as against $10,700 for Republicans; the larger sum of the former reflects mainly the size of the district represented by Democratic incumbents. Candidates of both parties drew nearly twice as much from party and lobby sources in the general election than in the primary.

Open Races

The politician who aspires to gain office by the easier route of running for an "open seat"—one which has been vacated by the previous incumbent through death, retirement, or advancement—must be prepared to pay a substantial part of his own expenses, particularly in the primary. This is true for both parties. The twenty-two assembly candidates in such open races (who spent an average of $3,500) and the eleven state senate candidates (who spend an average of $5,000) in the primary put up nearly a fourth of the money themselves. Labor gave some help to the Democrats, but otherwise the lobbies and parties were of negligible help until after the candidates had proved their vote-getting ability in the primary. The contest for open seats in the general election was more expensive—an average of $5,500 for the assembly and $10,500 for the senate—but the parties came to the rescue. Republican assembly candidates received more than half their money from the party, perhaps because most were from Los Angeles County where the United Republican Finance Committee is strong. Republicans who aspired to the more prestigious state senate seats received only an average of sixteen per cent of their total expenditures from party sources. Democrats received some party help, but more came from labor and the lobbies, which provided about one-fifth of their support. Adding primary and general election costs, it required about $9,000 to become an assemblyman (pay—$6,000 per year) or $15,000 to become a state senator (same pay).

CHALLENGERS

The "challengers"—those hardy souls who ran against an incumbent—were the worst financed candidates of all in the primary. This was a mixed group: some were "self-starters" who entered the race without the blessing of party or other organized groups. Others were "sacrificial lambs" who took on the majority party in a strong district just so the minority would be represented. Altogether there were one hundred and two of these challengers who were reduced to fifty-nine by the primary. Some of them amassed only a few thousand votes. Others—mostly ambitious Democrats—went on with the tide to defeat incumbent Republicans.

In the primary, the average expenses for these challengers was about $1,700 for the assembly and $2,500 for the senate. Virtually none of this came from the lobbyists, who saw no reason to antagonize incumbents. Labor was the exception: unions put up about one-fourth of the funds for Democrats to run against conservative Republicans. Once past the primary the challenger has a claim on his party. Republicans received more than forty per cent of their money from the party, Democrats about twenty per cent. Unions and lobbies, scenting Democratic victories, put up about fifteen per cent of the Democratic costs in November. On the whole, even in the general election, challengers were not quite as well financed as candidates for open seats, nor were they as well supported as the incumbents that they were trying to unseat. Party support to challengers generally varied with the probability of the latter's success, with candidates in doubtful districts receiving greater support than those in "hopeless" districts.

CONGRESSIONAL RACES

In general, the same tendencies appeared in Congressional contests.

Because of the activities of national party organizations in behalf of Congressional candidates, we are sure our totals fall short of the actual cost to an even greater degree than in state legislative races. Even so our calculations from the records show that Democrats averaged over $13,000 for the primary, plus the general election; Republicans nearly $21,000. Only $1,500 per candidate came from the Democratic party organizations, compared to $10,700 per Republican. In both parties challengers were again expected to pick up the tab for their campaigns to a greater extent than other kinds of candidates. Labor was comparatively less generous with Democrats running for Congress than with those running for the state legislature. Lobby contributions were not as easy to identify if they did in fact bulk large in the total, which is doubtful. The Republican party was particularly generous with its fifteen incumbents, giving them an average contribution of $13,500 for both the primary and general election campaigns.

Conclusions

In this study we have attempted to determine whether or not something may be learned about the pattern of campaign funds in California from an analysis of the data contained in the official records filed by candidates and campaign committees. We feel that despite their ambiguities and omissions, these reports provide data which substantiate several observations about California politics and suggest that certain others should be revised or updated.

Incumbents enjoy a real advantage. The relative ease with which an incumbent secures money from individuals, his party, and lobbyists gives him a head start and discourages competition. It also contributes to the relative stability of the California legislature. The incumbent finds it easier to win because he can get money; he can get money because it is likely that he will win—an obvious "self-reinforcing" phenomenon.

The difficulty of getting money to finance a campaign against an incumbent, and the heavy demand upon the candidate's *personal* resources if he seeks an open seat, impose a real barrier to entrance into politics at the legislative level.

The role of party organization in soliciting and controlling campaign funds is much more developed among Republicans than among Democrats.

The role of the lobby in financing legislative campaigns is far from negligible. Nevertheless, it is much diminished from the days when master lobbyist Artie Samish could build an effective political machine on legislative campaign contributions.

State controlled enterprises such as oil production and horse racing, regulated professions such as medicine, pharmacy, or cosmetology, and commodities subject to excise taxes such as liquor, beer, and tobacco, are among the heaviest contributors to legislative campaigns.

Lobby contributions which are identifiable normally take the form of $50 to $250 each to a large number of members of the legislature. If reporting were complete, one might find a number of lobbies made or at least offered, contributions to *every* member. The contrast between many contributions at this level and a few contributions of $1,000 or more made by other lobbies demands further study.

One could not find records of the contributions that might be expected from conservative interests such as banking, real estate, utilities, railroads, insurance, business, and manufacturing. Many of these, presumably, are channeled through the Republican party, but we need to know more about their original sources.

Labor unions contributed almost entirely to Democrats, bringing Democratic sources of finance closer to the level of the Republicans.

In view of the diversity and relative balance of campaign sources, it could hardly be charged that the legislature is the "captive" of either a lobby, a party, or a machine due to its vulnerability to financial pressure.

In sum, there are serious shortcomings in California's campaign reporting laws and practices. Nevertheless, the law has partially fulfilled its intent of bringing campaign financing into the open. Some basic revisions aimed at strengthening the law are needed. But with or without this, a scrutiny of *existing* and *available* records has considerable utility.

NOTES

1. Alexander Heard, *The Costs of Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1960).

2. Louise Overacker, *Money in Elections* (New York, 1932); James K. Pollock, *Party Campaign Funds* (New York and London, 1926).

3. Alexander Heard reports the average expenditure per Presidential vote

cast in 1952 as follows: California, $2.04; Pennsylvania, $1.75; Massachusetts, $2.12; New York, $1.19; Connecticut, $1.57; Maryland, $1.83; North Carolina, $1.22; Montana, $2.35; New Hampshire, $1.59; Utah, $1.18; Wyoming, $1.32. See *The Costs of Democracy*, p. 372n.

4. We are indebted to Secretary of State Frank M. Jordan and to his archivist, Frank Kono, for assistance in using the records.

5. See Herbert E. Alexander, *Money, Politics, and Public Reporting* (Princeton, 1960), p. 48.

6. An examination of 1960, with these figures as a benchmark, should reveal whether the abolition of cross filing saved the state, or particular candidates, electioneering money.

7. Totton J. Anderson, "The 1958 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Pt. 2 (March, 1959), pp. 276-300.

8. It must be realized, however, that this difference may be due in part to different reporting practices between some Republican and Democratic party committees. The Reports of the United Republican Finance Committee of Los Angeles County, for example, appear to be more complete and accurate than other committee reports of both parties. It is likely that fuller reporting of Democratic spending would narrow somewhat but not substantially alter the apparent expenditure gap between the two parties.

9. The extent of labor support to Democratic candidates in California does not vary much from other recent state elections. In 1954, for example, the campaign statements revealed total identifiable labor contributions of some $85,000—92.3 per cent of which went to Democrats, and 7.7 per cent to the Republicans. See Leonard C. Rowe, "Political Campaign Funds in California," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1957), p. 64.

Bull Moose Plays an Encore:
Hiram Johnson and the Presidential Campaign of 1932

By MARTY HAMILTON

IT WAS NOT UNUSUAL that the year 1932, like that of 1912, saw a decided pattern of disenchantment with avowed political party affiliation, and open mutiny within the ranks of the incumbent Republican party. It was by this time apparent that the depression was not simply a lull in the boom of the twenties and that the proverbial corner, around which prosperity loomed, undoubtedly was located in an undiscovered part of town. Among the prominent Republicans who felt that President Hoover was not likely to be the man who would discover that area were Senators George Norris, Nebraska; Bronson Cutting, New Mexico; Robert LaFollette, Jr., Wisconsin; and Hiram Johnson, California. This paper will focus on the decision and campaign activities of the latter. The purpose will not be to evaluate the significance of Senator Johnson's actions on the election result, but rather, first, to render a narrative of Johnson's activities in the campaign, and, secondly, to offer an explanation for his decision to bolt his party—my explanation going beyond the fact that Johnson had a personal vendetta with Hoover.

To those who had followed the career of Hiram Johnson, it was no surprise that the Californian, in 1932, was playing the role of a maverick. In 1910 he had launched his lengthy political career with election to the California governorship, largely on the strength of his campaign vow

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MARTY HAMILTON, a graduate of Duke University and a graduate student at San Francisco State College, delivered this paper at the 1962 Regional Meeting of the Southern California Chapters of *Phi Alpha Theta* held at San Diego State College. Mr. Hamilton's paper, written under the supervision of his seminar professors, Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke and Director Donald C. Biggs, was officially judged the outstanding paper presented by a graduate student.

to "kick the Southern Pacific out of the state government." This was an unusual stand for a man whose father, Grove L. Johnson, had been chief counsel for the railroad. In 1912 Hiram Johnson had allied with Theodore Roosevelt and the Bull Moosers to run as Vice-President with TR on the Progressive party's national ticket, despite Johnson's affiliation in California with the Republican party. In 1916 he had played a significant role in the victory of Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson over Charles Evans Hughes: the latter had made the mistake of snubbing Johnson and his element of the California Republican party when Hughes visited the state during the campaign.[1] In 1920 his spurning the offer of the Vice-Presidential candidacy by party leaders had cost him his chance to be President, since his would-be-running-mate, Warren Harding, died before finishing the term. In 1924 Johnson had made a futile attempt to gain the nomination from party choice Calvin Coolidge. He had been, thus, throughout his senatorial career a staunch independent, a "loner," often taking up causes allied with no other elements of the Senate.

The animosity between Johnson and Herbert Hoover was common knowledge. Probably the hostilities were initiated in 1920, when Johnson, seeking that cherished position in the White House for the first time, was surprised and offended to find Hoover's name placed in opposition to his in the California primary. In several other state primaries, Hoover had persuaded his following, which was already substantial, not to place his name on the ballot. But in California, he acquiesced, even though he was obviously not seriously seeking the nomination—he did not actively campaign in his home state. Although Johnson defeated him soundly in the primary, 370,000 to 210,000, the result was interpreted as a fair showing for Hoover, and probably cast some doubts in the minds of Republican leaders regarding the merits of Johnson's candidacy. In 1924 Johnson again sought a California endorsement. This time Hoover teamed with Mark Requa, representative of the state's Republican conservatives with whom Johnson was continuously at odds, to manage the Coolidge campaign in California and to defeat Johnson once again in his bid for the Chief Executive office.[2]

The hostilities continued throughout the twenties until Hoover was nominated for the Presidency in 1928. In the same year, Johnson was running for re-election to the Senate; the two agreed to a truce for political expediency. Johnson did not actively support Hoover's candidacy, and during the campaign he maintained a silence that was peculiar for one who was running for office in the same election, in the same party, and in the same state that Hoover called home.

It was not long after Hoover's inauguration, however, that the battle lines were again drawn. Johnson's isolationist views clashed with Hoover's stand on the London Naval Treaty, on the World Court issue, and on Hoover's establishment of the moratorium in allied war debts. In addition, the two were even at odds on the Colorado River dam project, a matter which vitally concerned one of the few things that the two men had in common—the same state for a home.

Near the end of 1931, Johnson's public attacks on Hoover began to reveal that he would not favor a renomination of the incumbent President.[3] By November he was openly suggesting that Hoover not plan to be a candidate in 1932. Shortly after Calvin Coolidge had announced that he would not be a candidate, Johnson said in a Chicago interview:

> The decision of Mr. Coolidge . . . entitles him to the highest praise of the American people. If Mr. Hoover were to make a like decision, he would have the undying gratitude of the rank and file of the Republican Party.[4]

A common reaction to these statements was that Johnson was attempting to build his own image as a candidate. It is not likely, however, that he had any serious intentions of running in 1932 for the one office that had eluded him since his re-election to the California governorship in 1914.[5] His failures of 1920 and of 1924 undoubtedly disappointed him profoundly. Yet it seems safe to assume that, although Johnson certainly had at one time aspired to be President, by 1931 he was resigned to the futility of his ever achieving it. In 1927 he had told a group of reporters that he was "the only member of the Senate, who has had the Presidential germ, from whom it has been thoroughly eradicated."[6] And, to return to the 1932 campaign, in the same interview in which he suggested that Hoover withdraw, he quipped, "Quit kidding me about the Presidential nomination. When I'm a candidate you'll know about it."[7]

During the next seven months Johnson made few public statements about the campaign, reserving his energy for his duties in the Senate. His private correspondence, however, revealed further hints that he might bolt his party in the fall. In one letter he indicated a favor for Franklin Roosevelt:

> I am perfectly certain of one thing, and that is, the one man who can beat Mr. Hoover as badly as any candidate for President has ever been beaten is Governor Roosevelt.[8]

And in another, he includes this advice to his friend, C. K. McClatchy:

> The only thing that men like ourselves can do in the coming campaign is to forget wholly the political parties and choose as between the men.[9]

Johnson had extreme notions of Hoover's intentions should the Republican be returned to the Presidency. He told McClatchy:

> I have in my mind the fixed idea that Hoover looks forward to a dictatorship, if not before the election, at least, if he is successful again, after the election.[10]

Johnson's next public pronouncement on the campaign was one that incited a furor of puzzlement and speculation over his plans. The statement came as a reaction to the nomination of Roosevelt at Chicago and to the precedent-breaking manner in which the Democratic candidate responded to the convention's selection. Johnson told reporters, "There was something fine and gallant and exhilarating in Roosevelt's scrapping of the old tradition that a nominee must wait anywhere up to a month before being informed of the nomination." Further, he praised the "drama" of Roosevelt's writing of his acceptance speech on the plane to Chicago, calling the act a "tribute to the poise and good nerves of the writer," and a tribute to his "frankness." The statement immediately aroused Republicans to wonder whether Johnson might be planning to support the Democrat in the forthcoming campaign, and it seemed to be the conclusion of insiders that it was a certainty that Johnson could not be counted on to *support* Hoover.[11] And, had these men read a letter by Johnson to his confidant on the preceding day, they might have been further convinced of their conclusion. Johnson confided:

> I shall maintain a silence concerning the campaign until I have the opportunity to talk things over with you in California. I am not afraid of quitting my official position and ending my political career, although . . . I should prefer not to. I will let the situation ride until you and I have a good talk about it.[12]

The speculation over Johnson's plans continued throughout July and August. On July 7, undoubtedly inspired by Johnson's complimentary remarks about Roosevelt three days earlier, Democrat William McAdoo added more fuel to the speculative fire when he paid a visit to Johnson at his Washington home, ostensibly to encourage Johnson's support of FDR. There is, however, no authentic record of exactly what the two men decided. Throughout the remaining time of the Congressional session, Johnson fought for relief measures and continued to attack and chastise the President.[13]

The question of Johnson's allegiance became front page news again in late September when Roosevelt visited California on his now famous western campaign trip. On September 22, speaking from a railroad car before some ten thousand people at Sacramento, FDR repeated his earlier invitation to Republican Progressives for their support. In fact, he specifically referred to Johnson in glowing terms as "a man who has done so much to further progressive thought and courageous public action . . . a warrior in the ranks of true American progress."[14] Johnson was not in Sacramento on the occasion, but in an interview on the following day he thanked Roosevelt for the compliments and stated:

> The attitude of Mr. Roosevelt is in sharp contrast with that which Mr. Hoover has maintained toward progressivism and the Progressives of California. For twenty-two years I have been making the Progressive fight here. For the remainder of my years I will continue to make that fight.[15]

But Johnson still did not publicly announce his bolt. Apparently he preferred to make a late announcement, probably for political effectiveness. Another opportunity came to him less than three weeks later, and this time he used it to give his announcement the effect that was desirable. On October 12 E. P. Clarke, publisher of the Riverside *Press,* sent a telegram to Johnson, urging him to make an "emphatic declaration" for Hoover.[16] Johnson did not hesitate to answer the telegram, and his reply put him once again in the nation's headlines. He opened his response with a statement worded to make his bolt appear to be a reluctant but forced move:

> I have publicly expressed my views on national policies and concerning the present administration upon the floor of the Senate and otherwise. I had assumed these were well known, particularly to Californians, and that there was no necessity again to express them in this campaign.

Then Johnson contrasted political philosophies:

> I am a Progressive Republican. Mr. Hoover is not. He has justly earned the title of ultra-conservative. The Progressive believes this government belongs to all its people, not to a favored or privileged few, and that it should be administered equally and impartially for all, high and low, rich and poor alike.

Toward party loyalty and the electorate which had put him in the Senate, Johnson took a different viewpoint from that of Clarke:

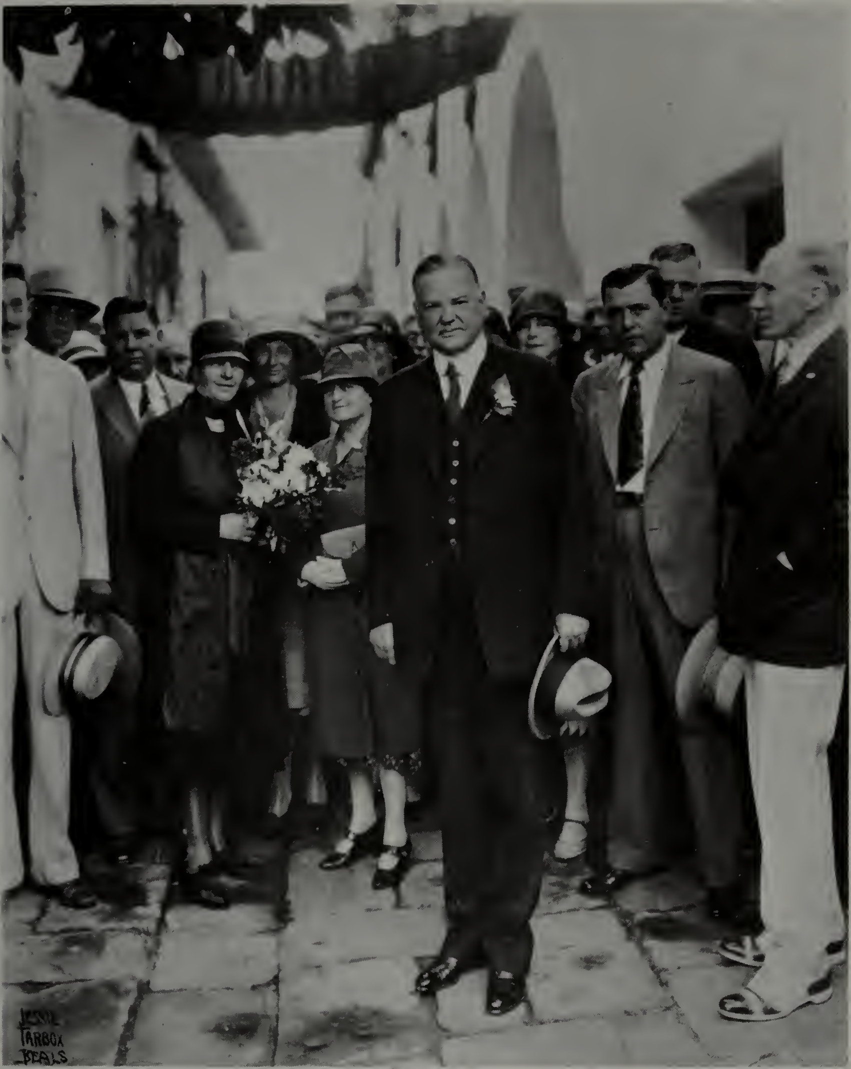
> In your telegram, you stress party regularity. In this crisis, I stress loyalty to the American people. I was elected by men and women of all shades of political opinion—Democratic, progressive and conservative Republicans—by the people of the State of California. My first allegiance is to all the people of this state. I would not taint my record nor stultify myself now by abandoning the principles for which I have battled unceasingly during my career. In the present cataclysm, with eleven millions unemployed, and suffering and want on every hand, the man who puts his party fealty and his hopes of preferment above the welfare of our people does the worst possible disservice to his country.

Finally, he answered the question that people had been pondering for over a year in terms that rang of the oratory for which he was reputed:

> I recognize that each individual, according as he sees the light, must make his choice. I make mine. I cannot and will not support Mr. Hoover.[17]

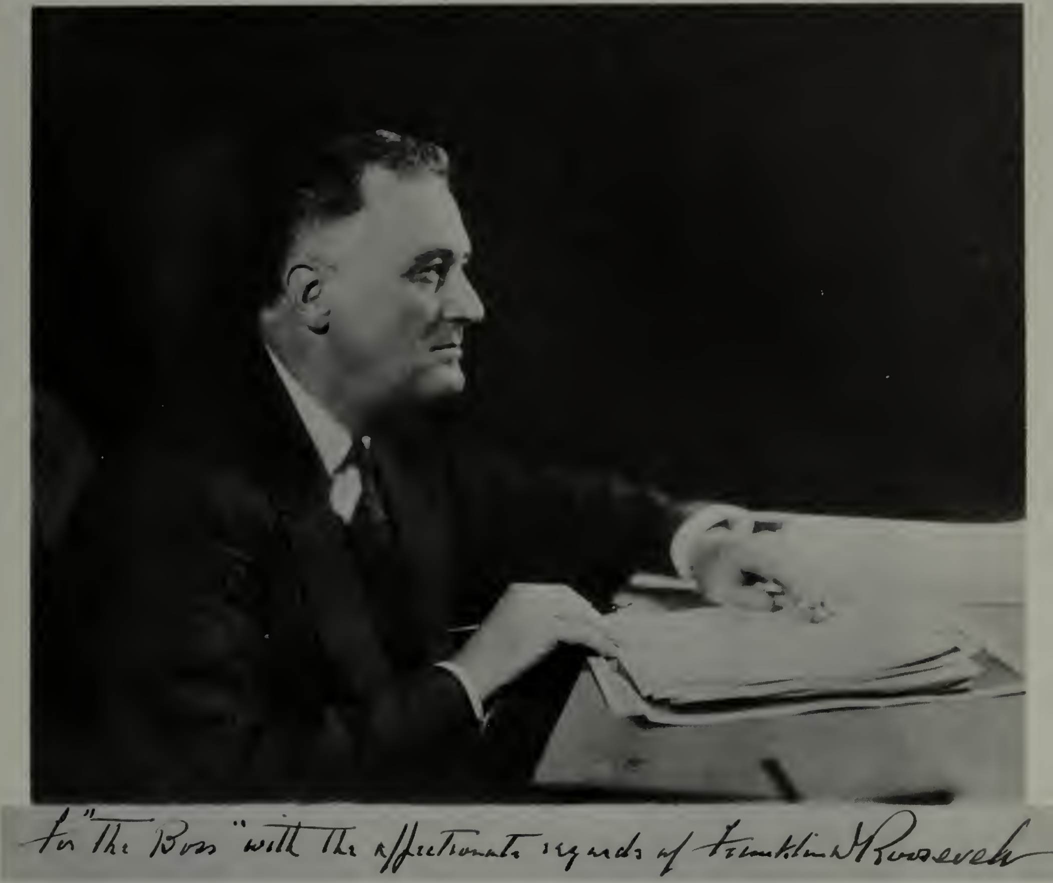
Reaction from both sides were understandably varied. From New York, Roosevelt's campaign manager James Farley declared that he was "not surprised" at the announcement, adding that he had sensed such a movement by Johnson and his followers in evidence during the Roosevelt stay in California.[18] From Washington came additional statements of Democratic leaders that the decision by Johnson assured the carrying of California in November; and William McAdoo, whose earlier visit with Johnson may have left him with knowledge that few other people were aware of, called the announcement "one of the finest definitions of progressivism as opposed to reaction that I have ever read."[19] On the other hand, the New York *Times* chided Johnson for speaking as if he still held "the people of California in the hollow of his hand," but in somewhat contradictory fashion conceded the possibility that Johnson could swing California with his influence.[20]

With a quickness that prompted speculation over the spontaneity of Johnson's decision came announcements of plans for speeches by the Senator in the closing weeks of the election. Plans for appearances in San Francisco and Los Angeles were first revealed, then a trip to the Midwest for speeches at Chicago and Rockford, Illinois, was announced. The first of them was given at Dreamland Auditorium in San Francisco on October 28, under auspices of the Roosevelt Republican Progressive League. Broadcast over a national radio network, the speech was for the most part the same one he would offer in the additional planned appearances. Crowd figures vary according to source, but it is safe to say that Johnson spoke to "live" audiences of ten thousand persons or more at


JESSIE
TARBOX
BEALS

Herbert Hoover at Santa Barbara, California, about 1928
Left to right: Mrs. Hoover, with flowers, Mrs. R. L. Requa, and Mr. Hoover.
Courtesy of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Senator Hiram Johnson, about 1945
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.



for "The Boss" with the affectionate regards of Franklin D Roosevelt

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The inscription to "The Boss" is to Johnson's wife, Minnie, and is dated 1933.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

SENATORS WILLIAM BORAH AND HIRAM JOHNSON IN 1935
Borah and Johnson congratulate each other on their victory over FDR on his proposal that the United States adhere to the World Court. Just two years before, Johnson had been on much friendlier terms with Roosevelt.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago, and to some eight thousand at Rockford. Johnson told his San Francisco audience that no campaign had thrilled him more, and that "as an American" he was proud to be a part of the fight for Roosevelt and Garner. He flourished in the role of progressive reformer with oratory that justified his reputation as a speaker:

> The bitter lessons of politics have taught our people that regularity is a fetish for the mentally weak and halt and lame, the only hope of political preferment of mediocrity, the last refuge of the political moron and the means by which a favored few may exploit the unprotected many.
>
> And tonight an aroused and outraged citizenship of the republic may sing hosannahs of victory for almost at an end is an inept, futile, ineffective, inefficient, disastrous, and un-American administration, and the United States is about to have governmentally a new deal.

Speaking from small note cards, he continued his attack on Hoover revealing to a large degree the basis for his dislike of the man:

> ... the fault rests in an erroneous outlook.
>
> This outlook may not be the deliberate fault of the individual in command, but the misfortune of his training, of his life spent in another environment, the formative period of his career and character passed in England in an atmosphere inimical to progressive principles, and in activities for two decades which afforded no understanding of American psychology or American life.

Johnson chided Hoover for an ambiguous stand on prohibition ("dry to the drys of California and wet to the wets of New York"), and asserted that FDR was "clearcut" on the issue. Concluding, he declared:

> The crisis demands a change.
>
> When a miracle man fails and a mystery man explodes, instinctively we turn to one who knows and understands and feels with us. In this campaign such a man is Franklin Roosevelt. He is no miracle or mystery man. He is just an American.[21]

In Chicago, the speech was expanded to focus on the farm problem, and also to attack administration attitudes toward electric power, unemployment, foreign securities, foreign debts, RFC, and Hoover himself on prohibition once again. This Chicago speech was also broadcast nationally.

It would be difficult to assess the importance of Johnson's support on the election result in California (Roosevelt's margin of victory in the state was over 475,000 votes). But it followed that, as a prominent political figure who had gone out of his way to support the country's new President, Johnson would be among the names mentioned to share the rewards of the victory. This was especially true since the Californian was one of the most reputable of a number of Republicans who had supported Roosevelt, and since FDR was aware that he was indebted to them. Johnson's observers immediately began to speculate that the country had at last a President with whom the irascible Senator could work and that perhaps he would now be moving to a cabinet post. Two positions were rumored as being open for Johnson's preferment; actually only one was offered, that of Secretary of the Interior, which was refused. (Johnson played a part in having the post offered to Harold Ickes, a friend of Johnson's since 1912). Concerning the rumors of cabinet posts being offered to him, Johnson told McClatchy:

> I am utterly unable to convince anybody that I have neither sought nor wanted patronage, and that I will not seek nor ask for it. The rotten rules of the political game apparently convince nearly all people that no one ever takes a political stand wholly unselfishly, and that when one does as I did . . . rewards have been agreed upon in advance . . .[22]

For what reasons, then, did Johnson make a decision that may have risked curtailment of his political career? Obviously the fact that he had no use for his old nemesis, Hoover, made it easier for him to prefer Roosevelt as the next President. But he certainly could have endured the campaign without actually coming out in favor of the Democratic candidate and could have maintained a "peculiar silence" as he did in 1928. Apparently he was not seeking a cabinet office.[23] The conclusion is that he bolted not only because of his dislike for Hoover, but mainly because he saw in Roosevelt a candidate with whom he could unite for a cause akin to the reform movement in California and the nation when he ran for governor in 1910 and for Vice-President with Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. Johnson saw the election of 1932 with Franklin Roosevelt the victor as another campaign to "kick the Southern Pacific out of the state government," only this time the enemies were the great depression and the man who was failing to revive the shattered economy. Back in February of that year he had told a friend that he would be thrilled to lead another campaign in California before he died on the

> old principles and policies which, years ago, gave us such continuous and extraordinary victories; and I feel certain that with the expenditure of the same effort, we could do exactly the same thing.[24]

Even before the election itself, he told an audience, "No campaign since 1912 has given me a greater joy than this one."[25] And in attempting to explain his decision of 1932, he said in a letter two weeks after the election.

> I followed my national bent in the campaign and did what I thought I ought to do. I am mighty glad I did. I can neither change my mode of thought nor philosophy of government, and I reached the conclusion that the gentleman in the White House had no conception of the hopes or the aspirations or the ideals of the people like you and me.[26]

From the time that Johnson began to gain some influence in the Senate, that is, since 1919, he had encountered little more than antagonism toward a progressive reform movement in his party—such as the antagonism he had fostered during the first term of the California governorship. The opportunity to lead from the White House had eluded him. The periods of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover had given the country leadership unsympathetic with his aims. With Roosevelt he saw a leader who espoused to a great extent his own principles, and he decided that he wanted to identify himself with this man and his cause:

> I am extremely anxious to see this administration a success, and short of sacrificing my most cherished principles, I will do anything within my power to aid it.[27]

It would not be long before Johnson discovered that he and Roosevelt did not see eye to eye on some issues and that he would once again be at odds with a Chief Executive. But in 1932, he was looking toward the future with a renewed enthusiasm—an enthusiasm similar to that which had accompanied the launching of his political career.

NOTES

1. The intention of the "snub" by Hughes, its significance on the election result, and the reaction by Johnson are questions still debated by students of political science and history, and by witnesses of the 1916 California campaign. For an inside account, see F. M. Davenport, "Did Hughes Snub Johnson?" *American Political Science Review*, XLIII (April, 1949), 321-32. Also see John Walton Caughey, *California* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958), p. 466.

2. Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1951-52), II, 34-35, 56.

3. Actually public expression by Johnson of his disapproval of Hoover as a candidate had been stated as early as March, 1931, when in an interview he

referred to the 1930 elections which returned Democratic majorities as being indications that "something is radically wrong somewhere," suggesting that the wrongness was in the White House. See San Francisco *Examiner,* March 17, 1931.

4. New York *Times,* November 20, 1931.

5. Throughout January, 1932, it was rumored that Johnson, encouraged by Republican Progressives, would enter the North Dakota primary, presumably against Hoover. Although Johnson tarried for over a month before announcing that he would not enter, he actually never had any intentions of doing so. By hesitating to announce his plans, he hoped to puzzle Hoover and prevent him from entering, knowing Hoover's reluctance to chance a defeat. The stratagem worked. Waiting for Johnson to announce his intentions, Hoover finally announced that he would not enter the primaries of North Dakota or Illinois. Johnson was elated by this action. See Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, February 2, 1932, *Hiram Johnson Papers,* MSS, Bancroft Library.

6. New York *Times,* March 29, 1927.

7. New York *Times,* November 20, 1931.

8. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, February 14, 1932, *Johnson Papers.*

9. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, March 6, 1932, *Johnson Papers.*

10. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, May 12, 1932, *Johnson Papers.*

11. New York *Times,* July 5, 1932. In his acceptance speech Roosevelt had made an open bid for Republican support as he said: "I invite those nominal Republicans who find that their conscience cannot be squared with the groping and failure of their party leaders, to join hands with us here and now." See New York *Times,* July 3, 1932.

12. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, July 3, 1932, *Johnson Papers.* There is evidence, however, that Johnson made a decision less than five days later. According to Hiram Johnson, III, a grandson of the senator, Johnson's support of Roosevelt was committed via a telephone call to Chicago by John Francis Neylan, confidant of Johnson and chief counsel for the Hearst newspaper chain. The telephone call was made to Roosevelt at the convention, and Johnson's backing was given on the condition that FDR understood and was in agreement with Johnson's isolationist views. I am indebted to Mr. Hiram Johnson, III, for his cooperation in providing me with a most informative and interesting interview.

This note is not intended to question the senior Johnson's honesty in his letter of July 3, 1932, to McClatchy. It is quite likely that Johnson *did* talk with McClatchy before the commitment to Roosevelt was made. At any rate McClatchy also crossed his usual party lines to support the Democratic candidate in 1932. I am still attempting to gather more details of the telephone calls by Neylan and of the events closely surrounding the July commitment to Roosevelt by Johnson. The Johnson Papers are peculiarly lacking in correspondence related to Johnson's campaign activities from this date, July 3, 1932, until after the election in November. For example, there is not a single piece of correspondence to C. K. McClatchy following the above-quoted letter until December 4, 1932.

Until this date in July, there is at least one letter per week addressed to the Sacramento newspaper owner, one of Johnson's closest friends. As the reader can doubtlessly see by this time in reading this paper, these letters in which Johnson was most frank and earnest are a valuable source.

13. New York *Times*, July 10, 1932; July 17, 1932.

14. New York *Times*, September 23, 1932.

15. New York *Times*, September 24, 1932. FDR's praise was in response to a Johnson speech at Modesto on September 21. Considering Johnson's earlier complimentary remarks about Roosevelt, it was not surprising that public speculation arose, questioning the timing of these exchanges. In a letter a few days later, Johnson said that he had "had a good laugh" at the speculation and denied that there was any connection between the two speeches, since he had planned his Modesto appearance "long ago." See Hiram Johnson to E. M. Norton, September 26, 1932, *Johnson Papers*.

16. New York *Times*, October 13, 1932. The telegram expressed the sentiments of seventy southern California newspaper editors who had met the night before and who had decided to seek Johnson's help in the Republican campaign. A list of these seventy is not available, but obviously they were committed to the Republican party in the 1932 campaign.

17. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 15, 1932.

18. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 15, 1932.

19. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 15, 1932.

20. New York *Times*, October 15, 1932.

21. New York *Times*, October 29, 1932.

22. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, December 4, 1932, *Johnson Papers*.

23. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, December 11, 1932, *Johnson Papers*. Referring to the new administration, he told McClatchy: "I do not want any position with it. The Lord, I fear, made me a natural rebel . . . with a passionate independence. I cannot discipline myself, at my age, to accept views I felt were at variance with the best interests of our people. I could not, with my peculiar temperament and my singular independence, which I prize above all things, go into any President's cabinet."

24. Hiram Johnson to Irving Martin, February 15, 1932, *Johnson Papers*.

25. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 29, 1932.

26. Hiram Johnson to Sam Frankenheimer, Nov. 21, 1932, *Johnson Papers*.

27. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, December 11, 1932. *Johnson Papers*.

Robert Semple:
Pioneer, Promoter, Politician

By WOODROW J. HANSEN

NOW THAT THE PROPOSED Benicia-Martinez Bridge is about to open and cars from the Contra Costa will speed over the steep headlands and deep waters of Carquinez Straits, some motorists inevitably will recall the once-famous name of Robert Semple. For this long and lean Kentuckian (six-foot-eight from buckskin shoes to cat-skin cap) was the first man in California to forge a connecting link between the settlements of the North Bay area and the productive ranchos of Contra Costa and San Jose. That was back in 1847 when Semple inaugurated a ferry service connecting the headlands on either side of the straits. Concern for better communication did not, however, completely account for Semple's interest in the ferry. His real motive was much more personal. He was, at the time, possessed to the point of madness with the idea that Benicia would one day boom into the great emporium of the Pacific—and settle once and for all the fantastic pretentions of that windy and sand-bitten city at the Golden Gate.

But if Benicia was to draw upon the wealth of the East Bay and San Jose areas, some means had to be found to eliminate a tedious detour that obliged wagoneers to cross the Contra Costa Mountains into barren San Joaquin Valley, then double back across the Sacramento River. So Semple built his ferry-landing at Benicia, and put a boat in operation across the straits of Carquinez. The Benicia enterprise, however, could not justly be called Semple's sole project. If that failed (as it did), he had a hundred more to fall back on. For Semple was as full of projects

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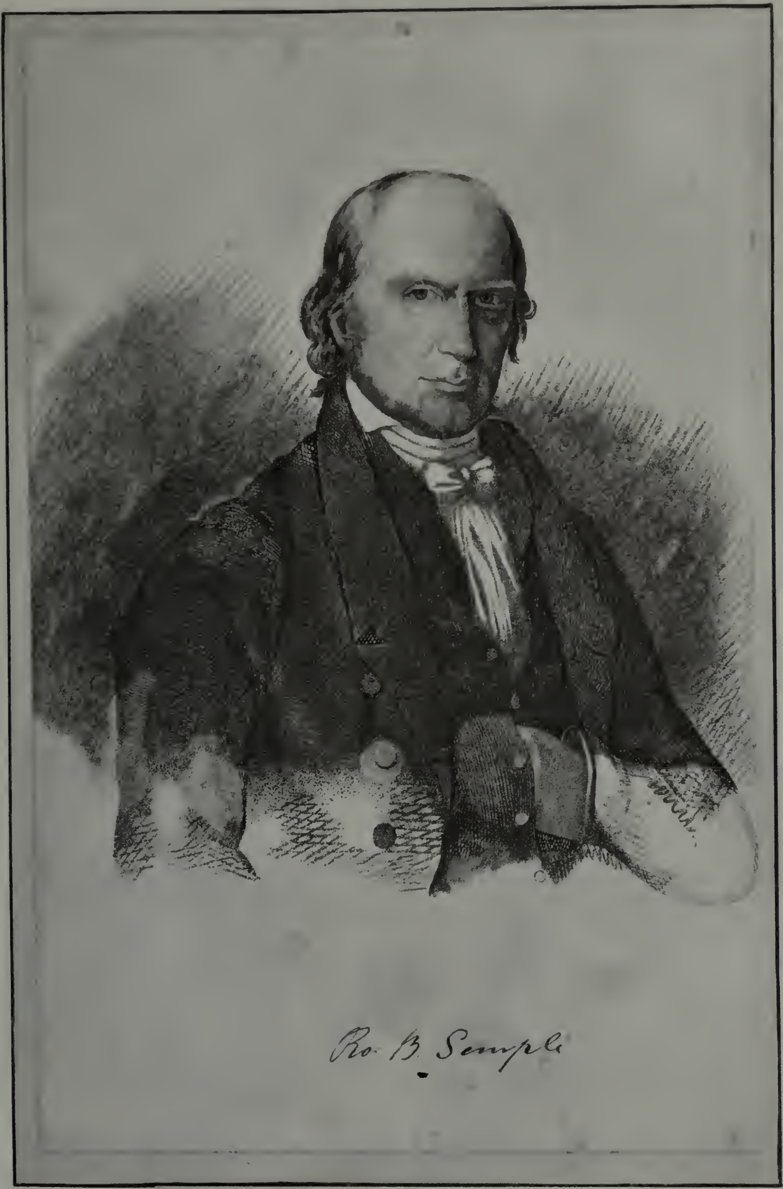
as Colonel Sellers in Mark Twain's *Gilded Age,* the difference being that Semple's grand schemes were carried to some sort of conclusion.

Most early Californians made note of Semple's commanding voice. And in a way the story of his rapid rise to fame in California during the late Mexican and early American periods is the story of how he used that voice.[1] Whether he was raising it among the riled band of American settlers about to elevate their Bear Flag over the Mexican post at Sonoma, whether he was establishing California's first newspaper at Monterey, whether he was delivering a Fourth of July oration at Portsmouth Square in San Francisco, or whether he was presiding at the Constitutional Convention of 1849, he was a man who would be heard.

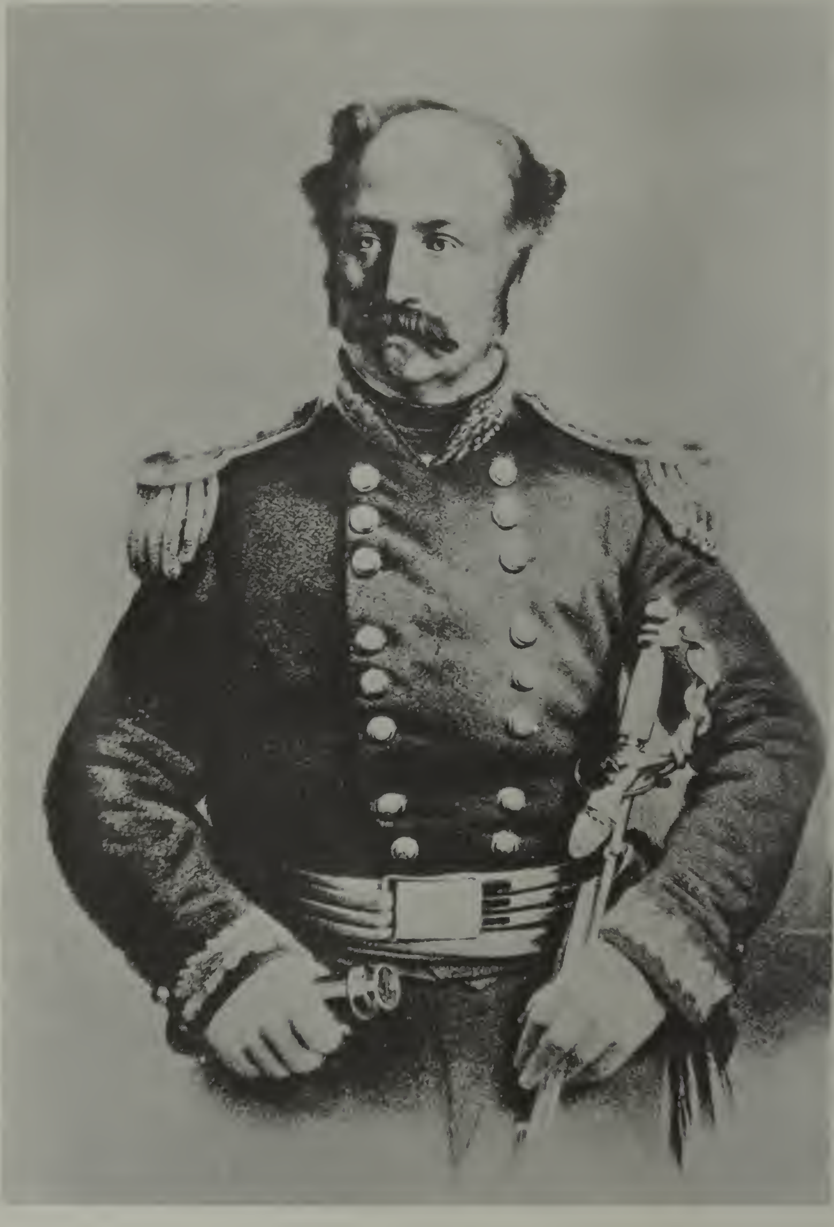
Semple's entrance upon the California scene was quiet enough. He came overland in late '45 with a party headed by Lansford W. Hastings, who was at that time conducting a one-man campaign to wrest California from Mexico by peaceful means; that is, by overwhelming the province with American settlers. (This was a proven mode of conducting diplomatic relations at the time. It had worked in Texas, and had come to be known as "the Texas game.") Semple first met Hastings in Independence, Missouri, jumping off place for the Far West wagon trains.[2] It was not difficult to convince Semple, restless child of the frontier that he was, that it was time for another change of scenery—and occupation.

At thirty-nine a widower with one son, Semple was still trying to find himself. As a boy he had been indentured to printing, learning his trade in Kentucky at Frankfort's *Argus.* Later he studied dentistry, then drifted all over the United States and Cuba, most of the time working at dentistry, but occasionally bringing out a newspaper. Unable to find satisfaction in either pursuit, he had taken up the study of law, but finally adopted his father's profession of medicine![3] It was as Dr. Semple that he made the acquaintance of Hastings. And when he heard that accomplished propagandist's tale of a land of promise now lying useless under the hand of indolent "Spaniards" who had no notion of enterprise at all, the old restlessness returned. He joined Hastings' party of ten, and they left Independence in July.[4] It was a little late in the year to be setting out across the plains, but they travelled on horseback and managed to get through the Sierra before the great snows.

Semple wanders onto the stage of California history like a fictional



Robert Semple
Courtesy of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery.



GENERAL JOHN A. SUTTER IN MILITARY REGALIA
Courtesy of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

character with comic possibilities: a tall, bony figure clad in buckskins that may once have fit but that now, weathered by wind, rain, and river-crossings, left arms and legs starkly protruding. As one observer reported, "they came just below the knee and were fastened round his moccasins with a strap of the same material. He had a wild cat-skin cap and his *tout ensemble* bordered upon the comical."[5]

Semple didn't feel comical. His overland party had just emerged from a rugged crossing of the Sierra by following the Bear River down to the delightfully green Sacramento Valley. As it happened, the first white man's habitation they came upon was a place known as Johnson's ranch: a nice layout, well-stocked and offering fine crop possibilities. Semple showed his love of enterprise by impulsively taking an interest in a crop with Johnson then and there.[6] Semple, Hastings, and Johnson then went on to Captain Sutter's Fort, the picket walls of which enclosed a dozen shops and manufactures. It was the goal and assembly point for all American settlers in the '40's. When the empresario saw the towering Semple approaching with Johnson, who stood scarcely five feet high, his Swiss fancy was tickled. "By Jupiter," he laughed, "there vass a man so tall if he spread his legs apart, Johnson run right troo him."[7]

Sutter recognized a good man when he saw one and added Semple to his already large group of German, French, and American retainers. In company with the enterprising John Bidwell, Semple was engaged to explore the Sierra foothills for a likely sawmill site. Sutter had long since wanted to erect such a mill in order to reduce the cost of buying hand-cut redwood shipped round the coast from Santa Cruz.[8] A promising site was finally found at Coloma, and construction began a year later; but the sawmill never went into operation. Gold was discovered in the millrace, and thereafter no one could be found to work for hire when a fortune was to be found in the next stream or gully.

Semple stayed on at Fort Sutter, and as a consequence the only men with whom he came into contact during those first months were other American immigrants. "Some of them are clever," he wrote to friends back East, "and other scamps . . . I bought a horse this morning that the man is to steal for me *in a day or two!*"[9] From men such as these (and Hastings) he picked up the current misinformation regarding the "Spaniards," their government, and the impossibility of securing a title to any land.[10] Such prejudices, added to the false rumor that the Mexican *comandante general,* José Castro, was seeking to expel all unnaturalized foreigners, made the Americans uneasy enough. But when they heard that an Irish priest (supposed to be an agent of Great Britain) was to be given possession of all unoccupied land from Los Angeles to San Francisco in order to settle it with *Catholics,* the Americans decided it was time to act! At least this is the interpretation of the origin of the Bear Flag Revolution that Semple later set down in a written account.[11] But he also asserted that the uprising occurred when General Castro, intent on overthrowing Governor Pío Pico at Los Angeles, cloaked his preparations against Pico under a crusade against the American settlers in the Sacramento Valley.

General Castro, it is true, had sent Lieutenant Francisco Arce to collect horses at San Rafael and Sonoma and to bring them round the bay by way of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. And this move was interpreted by some restive Americans as the dreaded first-move against them. Furthermore, the news was carried to Captain John Charles Frémont, who, of course, *had* been ordered by Castro to leave California. And it was Frémont, now returning with his mounted engineers from their camp at the buttes above the Yuba River, who instigated the attack upon General Castro by a small party of Americans. At least he got them to capture Arce's band of horses, in the expectation that Castro would then attempt to move against Frémont's well-armed force. The horses were captured; the die fairly cast. But when no news was heard from Castro, the apprehensive Americans, their ranks now swollen to almost thirty members by recruits from up and down the valley, determined to capture Sonoma. Semple records that Frémont had promised them aid, but never actually gave it.[12] But more recruits were picked up in the Napa Valley, where Semple raised drooping spirits with a timely address on the nobility of their venture.[13]

It was in the action that followed that Sonoma was "taken" in the early morning hours of Sunday, June 14—that is, General Vallejo, who had dismissed his small force the previous year, was roused out of bed and signed articles of capitulation drawn up under the kindly influence of the general's generous rounds of *aguardiente.*[14]

Having proceeded thus far, the perplexed insurrectionists—in the best American tradition—called a meeting in the empty barracks in order to determine just what they had done! "The Long Captain in

Leather," as Vallejo's American brother-in-law called Semple, rose to speak again, pointing out the impossibility of turning back now. But he also urged the necessity of respect for private property and proper treatment of prisoners and their families, a stand which won him the title "Buen Oso" (The Good Bear).[15] It also won him Mariano G. Vallejo's gratitude, which was to be expressed later in the very concrete form of a gift of land at the Carquinez. "But for him," said Vallejo, "no doubt the Bear Party would have sacked Sonoma . . . and there is no telling what other excesses that rough crowd might have committed."[16]

After taking the most prominent Sonomans to Fort Sutter (Frémont had refused to accept them at his Sacramento River encampment), Semple returned to Sonoma, then appeared briefly at Yerba Buena in a party that spiked the guns at the presidio; and when Frémont created the California Battalion, he joined that too. The gallant captain was on his way to Santa Cruz to attack Castro's army. In the meantime, however, Commodore John D. Sloat, being finally assured that Mexico and his government were actually at war, had landed his marines at Monterey; and Castro retreated to the south. It is reported that Sloat then asked Frémont to join forces. At any rate the captain at this time proceeded at a leisurely pace up the San Joaquin, leaving the valley to march across the hills by way of Pacheco Pass to San Juan Bautista. Here he was met by a squad of Fauntleroy's Dragoons which had been sent out to reconnoiter the area. Tired perhaps of filibustering, Semple chose to join them.[17]

Sloat soon after turned over his command to Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who had been sent to the Pacific as his successor; and the latter then authorized Frémont's plans for conquest. At the same time Stockton gave official blessing to the California Battalion; and that miscellany of army engineers, farmers, frontiersmen, and Indians was to be outfitted as well as possible by American trading vessels then in Pacific waters. Captain Phelps of the *Moscow*, was able to supply them all well—except Semple. Phelps received an indelible impression of the lank, "Kentucky-looking chap" who came on board still dressed in deerskin, "his head surmounted by a coonskin cap, tail in front." After spending at least a year in that one outfit, Semple was perhaps ready for a change. If so, he was to be disappointed. "A pair of trousers could not be found in the ship that would reach below his knees," Phelps later recalled, "while his feet covered too much ground to find place in any pair of shoes that I ever saw."[18]

A soldier has a right to expect decent fighting gear from his government. Perhaps it was disappointment on this score that determined Semple to ask for his discharge on August 15 from Fauntleroy's Dragoons after an enlistment of exactly one month.[19] A more likely reason was the prospect of establishing a newspaper at Monterey in partnership with the Reverend Walter Colton, chaplain of the U. S. S. *Congress*, who was then acting as *alcalde* (mayor and municipal judge). Such an enterprise would enable Semple to forward his design of propagandizing for the immediate formation of American civil government in the occupied Mexican territory. The incongruous partners got out the first issue of the *Californian* on Saturday, August 15, the date of Semple's discharge.[20]

The newspaper fairly established, Semple was off to Yerba Buena in order to forward other pressing projects. Mail service was badly needed if the California community was to prosper; therefore Semple sought out Acting-Governor Stockton on his flagship at San Francisco. The commodore was impressed with Semple's argument and gave assurances that a government mail service would be inaugurated.[21] Semple had other things in mind too. And the Reverend Colton, left alone to bring out the weekly *Californian*, tolerantly noted that Semple was absent much of the time in the region of San Francisco Bay, engaged in land speculations and a vain search for a wife.[22] Colton's statement turned out to have a strong element of truth in it.

In September the "Bear" went to Sutter's Fort and returned with Vallejo, who had been released, finally, from captivity. On the trip back to Sonoma they passed near Suisun Bay just inside the Carquinez Straits. Always on the alert for a new enterprise, Semple expressed his belief that if a city were founded at that magnificent location it would be certain to prosper. Vallejo agreed, and was, furthermore, in a position to do something about it since all the land bordering on that portion of the north bay was a part of his Soscol rancho. Late that year Don Mariano deeded half of a five-square-mile tract of the Soscol rancho to Semple as a token of gratitude for the Buen Oso's kindly treatment of him during the troublous times of the Bear Flag revolt. Vallejo was no mean "projector" himself, however, and no doubt decided that a flourishing city at the Carquinez would not hurt the land values of his remaining lands on the northern frontier.[23]

Several months were to pass before Semple could pull up stakes at Monterey. In the meantime, he returned to his newspaper and continued to inform Californians, natives and Americans alike, of the need for a civil rather than military government.

Then came an opportunity to push both projects—the plans for a civil government and the city at the Carquinez. This came about when Frémont (named military governor by Commodore Stockton following the conquest) ordered a legislature to meet, and appointed Vallejo one of its seven members. Semple wrote to his friend giving him news of the appointment and expressing his understanding of just what Vallejo's feelings might be on the subject of accepting an office under California's conquerors. Nevertheless, he urged his friend's acceptance of the office as a duty. For, he said, the presence of Don Mariano in the legislature would "have a powerful tendency to tranquilize the country . . . [and] place the old inhabitants of California on the same footing with the Americans." There was another reason why Vallejo should accept the appointment. "Our interests too, though a secondary consideration, in relation to the location of the seat of Government, is much at stake. I hope you will not suffer your delicacy of feeling to deter you from doing your duty."[24] At the time Semple wrote that letter not a single house dotted the yellow fields of mustard on the slopes above the Carquinez. All Semple and Company had was a name for the town—Francisca—in honor of Vallejo's wife; and that was soon to be changed to Benicia (her middle name) in order to avoid confusion with the recently renamed city of San Francisco.

By March of 1847, however, Semple was able to report growth at Benicia—on paper. He had a partner with capital, the Yankee merchant and former American consul, Thomas O. Larkin; the town had been surveyed, and lots were selling well. By May he had set aside lots for public schools. Moreover, he now revealed plans for a ferry across the straits that separated Benicia from the commercially valuable regions of Contra Costa and San Jose to the south.[25] That summer also he retired from the *Californian*, which had in the meantime moved to San Francisco.[26]

On July 4, however, he was back at the crowded city of San Francisco, stopping at Brown's Hotel where he knew he could always find a bed. The proprietor, John Henry Brown, had been Semple's host during the days of the Bear Flag and had then ordered the construction of a special bed, to be ready for the tall one whenever he came to the city. One morning, having confidently greeted his guest with the expectation of receiving a compliment, he was abruptly "met with a request to know if he had any chickens to roost, as the doctor's legs came out at the foot of the bed sufficient to roost about a dozen." Brown promptly had another bed built, this one 7′6″ in length, "which the doctor pronounced a perfect fit."[27]

The occasion of Semple's July 4 visit was the city's first official Independence Day celebration.[28] The Benicia booster, being asked to read the Declaration, could not refuse such an honor, even though he was beginning to cast envious eyes on San Francisco's rapid growth. Thus, he had come to the rival port. Before leaving, however, Semple improved the occasion by arranging a series of advertisements in the *Californian*, advising San Francisco readers of the opening of a store at Benicia City where dry goods and groceries were to sell at San Francisco prices, "for payment in cash or hides." At the same time he announced that he now had a ferry boat in operation across the Carquinez Straits.[29] To show his confidence in Benicia, Semple gave away his San Francisco lot and left.[30] For the remainder of 1847 he was active in building up his young metropolis.

In the midst of this general success there was one setback and—had he but known the circumstances—a warning as to what he could further expect from his business partner, Larkin: Semple had applied to Governor Mason for the office of *alcalde* in Benicia and now wrote Larkin asking the former consul to use his influence with the governor.[31] The governor, however, after consulting with Larkin, refused the commission. In his place the governor appointed the old guide and scout Stephen Cooper, who had moved to Benicia from Napa, coming, it was said, with his family and a load of cabbages all in one cart. As it turned out, Semple was not altogether the loser by Larkin's failure to have him appointed *alcalde*. In December he married Alcalde Cooper's daughter Frances.[32]

Early in '48 news of the discovery of gold at the scene of Semple's former explorations for a millsite broke upon the world. Semple remained unimpressed. "I'd give more for a good coal mine than for all the gold mines in the universe," he said, and stayed right where he was.[33] And as the gold-fever took hold and spread to the country south of the bay, it began to look as if Semple, with his ferry at the Carquinez, indeed had a gold mine right where he was. One day Semple ferried over the party of Governor Mason on the occasion of the governor's famous inspection of the mines for the United States Government. With Mason was a young lieutenant, William Tecumseh Sherman, chafing in his role of adjutant to the military governor while his West Point classmen at Mexico City were reaping honors in the field. The crossings were leisurely, for Sherman had time to become well enough acquainted with the ferryman to recall, years later, his lean frame and keen mind. The ferry itself he described as a ship's boat, with a lanteen sail, which could carry across six or eight horses at one time. "It took us several days to cross over and during that time we got well acquainted with the doctor, who was quite a character. He was about seven feet high and very intelligent."[34] One passenger making the crossing in April found himself the sole occupant of the fifteen-foot boat; but returning a couple of weeks later he counted two hundred wagons on their way to the Sacramento by way of the Carquinez.[35]

Sherman reported but one adobe house at Benicia at the time of his crossing. It was occupied by promoter Lansford W. Hastings and family, in addition to the doctor. But before the year was out the town was to boom. By mid-summer there were some twenty buildings. The town had been surveyed by Jasper O'Farrell, the gentleman who had already provided San Francisco with a gridiron arrangement of streets that showed a fine disregard for topography—his straight streets marching up and down the hills in military fashion. Two hundred lots had been sold at Benicia, and prospects were so good that speculators in the City at the Gate began to feel a flutter of alarm.[36] Semple's shrewd partner, Oliver Larkin, however, had decided that San Francisco was the place with a future. His interest in Benicia waned despite Semple's repeated letters, alternately pleading with and threatening his partner.[37]

When Semple heard that Larkin intended to put up a row of buildings in the rival city, the end of the partnership was near. "For God's sake," Semple wrote, "name a price at which you will sell out."[38] Early in '49 there was a new partner, and the price of lots began to rise. Then

Semple signed a contract of copartnership with several in-laws to conduct a general business. They purchased the Chilean barque *Confederación,* cargo and all. She had been moored at shore, deserted by a crew which scattered to the gold fields. Soon Semple's company needed, and built, a two-story warehouse near the waterfront.[39] His next project was even more impressive, nothing less than the building of a steamer, the *Colusa.*

Before this daring addition to California progress was completed, another steamer, the U.S.S. propeller *Edith,* made her appearance in San Francisco Bay freighted with news that was fateful for Semple and all of California. Before adjourning in April, Congress had failed to provide California with a territorial government. The agitation for non-military government, begun so long before by Semple in the first issue of the old *Californian* and continued by San Franciscans anxious about land titles and uncollected debts, now reached fever pitch. The new military appointee, Governor Bennett Riley, was virtually forced into calling a constitutional convention when San Franciscans, joined by citizens at Sacramento, San Jose, and Monterey published plans for calling a convention on their own.

An election date was set by Governor Riley, and the country was divided into election districts from San Diego at the south to Sacramento at the north. Slates of delegates were put up by interested parties, and there was campaigning—especially in the newer (mining) districts. At the election on August 1, Semple was chosen as one of three delegates allotted to Sonoma, the other two being Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Joel P. Walker, Indian fighter under General Jackson and an early settler at Napa.

When the delegates convened at Colton Hall in Monterey they quickly decided upon Semple to preside over the deliberations of the convention.[40] It was a good choice. The times were perilous, with Congress torn and divided on the subject of the extension of slavery into the territory recently acquired from Mexico. It was generally felt that a divided state convention would never succeed in winning approval of its constitution or admission to statehood. The situation was critical. Northerners made up a majority of the population, but there were many Southerners in the country; and a good many Southern lawyers had been chosen as delegates. Moreover, other conflicts, as between Whigs and Democrats, native Californians and Americans, old settlers and new, were certain to develop. The convention must find a man who was known to most delegates, one who was not unpopular, and one who would command respect from all.

Robert Semple seemed to be the man. He was a Southerner who showed Northern love of enterprise. He was remembered pleasantly by the native Californians for his concern for them during the Bear Flag affair. He was an "old settler," yet known to most newcomers who had read the *Californian* or used his ferry across the straits of Carquinez on their way to the mines. Semple did not disappoint the convention. His presidential address showed that he understood the role of governments in society, and it effectively called for harmony of effort to secure for Californians the blessings of a good government. He presided with dignity, and if he sometimes lost the thread of argument, he never lost his composure. And he showed sufficient conviction to vacate his chair occasionally in order to debate on an issue dear to his Jacksonian heart, such as that of the hated banks.[41] On only one point was Semple out of tune with the majority: though he was opposed to admitting slavery to California, he joined in the conviction of many Northerners and Southerners alike that a resolution should be made excluding even free Negroes from the state. These men felt that in a youthful country where almost every man worked with his hands, it would demean the white man to do the same work as the Negro.[42] After a vigorous debate the resolution was fortunately defeated.

When the convention had concluded its work, everyone agreed that Semple had done a good job. But now he did not choose to go back to his city on the Carquinez: he had another pioneer project at hand. With his son, who had joined him in '49, he recently had purchased the Colusa rancho from John Bidwell;[43] and they chose to undertake ranching at the northern frontier rather than continue city-building at Benicia. It was there, two years later following a fall from his horse, that Semple met death, the final frontier.

Years later fellow delegate Elisha Crosby, justice of the state supreme court, recalled Robert Semple: "He was very tall and straight . . . with broad hands that closed like a vice upon the hand of a friend, a great high head, full of brains and practical common sense . . . He was a good judge of Bourbon and honest as he was tall."[44]

NOTES

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2. *Vallejo Documents,* V:109, MSS, Bancroft Library.

3. F. H. Day, "Sketches of the Early Settlers of California," *Hesperian,* III (November, 1859), 386-87; Zoe Green Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ,* VI (June, 1927), 132.

4. *The Expositor* (Independence, Mo.), July 6, 1845, quoted in H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), IV, 586.

5. William Swasey, "California in 1845-46," pp. 13-14, MS, Bancroft Library.

6. Day, "Sketches of California Settlers," *Hesperian,* III, 386.

7. Swasey, "California in 1845-46," p. 15.

8. Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ,* VI, 134-135; Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 26n.

9. Robert B. Semple, "Sketch of the Country," Chapter XVI in Lansford W. Hastings, *A New History of Oregon and California* (Cincinnati, 1849), p. 156.

10. Semple, "Sketch of the Country," *A New History of Oregon and California,* pp. 155-56.

11. Semple's account of the Bear Flag Revolt, quoted in Day, "Sketches of Early Settlers," *Hesperian,* III, 387.

12. Day, "Sketches of Early Settlers," *Hesperian,* III, 387.

13. Bancroft, *History of California,* V, 111n; *Biography and Reference Notes,* Bancroft Library.

14. Bancroft, *History of California,* V, 115.

15. Semple's account of the Bear Flag Revolt, quoted in Day, "Sketches of Early Settlers," *Hesperian,* III, 389; J. P. Leese, *Bear Flag Papers,* pp. 7-11, 18, MSS, Bancroft Library.

16. Vallejo, "Vida de William B. Ide," *Savage Documents,* II:114.

17. Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ,* VI, 141-42; Bancroft, *History of California,* V, 246-47.

18. William D. Phelps, *Fore and Aft* (Boston, 1871), pp. 288, 292.

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20. *California,* August 15, 1849; Bancroft, *History of California,* V, 291-93.

21. Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ,* VI, 143.

22. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (Stanford, 1949), p. 174.

23. Bancroft, *History of California,* V, 670-71n; Calistoga *Tribune,* March 7, 1872.

24. R. B. Semple to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, January 31, 1847, *Vallejo Documents,* XII:266.

25. *Vallejo Documents,* XII:291, 388; XXXIV:271.

26. *Californian,* July 17, 1847.

27. John Henry Brown, *Early Days of San Francisco,* ed. Jos. A. Sullivan (Oakland, 1949), p. 38.

28. *Californian*, July 10, 1847; *California Star*, July 10, 1847.

29. *Californian*, July 24, August 7, 1847.

30. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 715.

31. R. B. Semple to T. O. Larkin, Benicia, August 5, 1847, *Larkin Documents*, V:200, MSS, Bancroft Library.

32. Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ*, VI, 149-150.

33. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 58.

34. William T. Sherman, *Recollections of California*, ed. Jos. A Sullivan (Oakland, 1945), p. 43.

35. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 58.

36. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 18-19.

37. R. B. Semple to T. O. Larkin, Benicia, October 20, 1847, and November 20, 1847, *Larkin Documents*, V:304, 335; R. B. Semple to T. O. Larkin, Benicia, November 11, 1847, *Bear Flag Papers*, pp. 34-37; Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ*, VI, 149.

38. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 674.

39. Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple," *CHSQ*, VI, 150-51.

40. The following two paragraphs are from Woodrow J. Hansen, *The Search for Authority in California, 1822-1849* (Oakland, Biobooks), pp. 108-09.

41. J. Ross Browne, *The Debates in the Convention of California* (Washington, 1850), pp. 45-46, 51, 112, 131.

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Lumbering in Hispanic California

By SHERWOOD D. BURGESS

TO THE SOUTH OF San Francisco lie the scattered remains of a vast redwood empire. Although this "Southern Redwood Empire," unlike its northern counterpart, has received little attention from historians, it played a vital role in early California.

The forests of redwood and pine that stretched from present San Mateo County to the Monterey Peninsula formed a backdrop for the Spanish and Mexican periods in northern California. While history spotlights the presidios, missions, and ranchos, the cold, gray coastal fogs obscure crude cabins tucked in fern-covered glades surrounded by the tall, straight *palo colorado.*

History, likewise, romanticizes the hide and tallow trade and the colorful life on the ranchos. But the bearded, hard-drinking whipsawyer, while not as dashing a figure as the vaquero, played an equally important part in the economy of Hispanic California.

Although the Monterey pines were probably first observed by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542, and certainly by Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602,[1] the discovery of the redwoods had to wait until Gaspar de Portolá first observed the *palo colorado* north of the Pájaro on Tuesday, October 10, 1769.[2] During the next seven years a number of expeditions to the Bay area explored the Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Mateo, and East Bay redwoods.[3]

The forests were logged mainly for local construction during the first few years of the Spanish era. Most of the labor was performed by mission Indians who were trained in logging by the padres.[4] The fathers of Santa Clara seem to have specialized in lumbering and teaching the

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neophytes the trade. As early as January, 1777, the missionaries were in the Santa Clara hills cutting planks. Soon afterwards they built one of the first bridges in California near the mission to expedite the hauling of their lumber. Santa Clara Indians also first exploited the Santa Cruz redwoods in 1791 while building Mission Santa Cruz. Thus they logged the area six years before the first white colonists of the Villa de Branciforte.[5]

Word of the forest soon spread to less wooded sections of California and a rather considerable domestic, and at times foreign, commerce in timber developed. On May 21, 1776, the *San Antonio* (also known as *El Príncipe)*, under Don Diego Choquet, arrived in Monterey with an order for pine beams for the reconstruction of Mission San Diego. On June 30 the vessel sailed with the first timber to be exported from the Monterey area.[6]

Commerce with Santa Barbara began in 1782 with shipments of pine roof rafters for the new presidio.[7] This trade continued intermittently. In October, 1786, the *Princesa*, under Don Esteban José Martínez, brought fifty-eight *morillos* (roof rafters) and twelve *vigas* (beams) to Santa Barbara; and in November, 1788, it landed another load of beams.[8]

A great flurry of logging operations was set off by Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga's orders of 1793 to strengthen the presidios against possible foreign aggression.[9] Consequently, the San Francisco garrison trained young bulls and built oversized ox-carts to snake logs from the rugged San Mateo Range to the *castillo* on the Golden Gate. In addition, timbers had to be shipped up the coast from Monterey.[10]

Monterey supplied most of the lumber for the new defense effort. The *Princesa*, now under Don Salvador Fidalgo, and the *Aranzuzu*, under Josef Tobar, were pressed into regular service as lumber carriers. For the next few years these little vessels commuted between Monterey and San Diego carrying lumber for fortifications, buildings, carts, and launches. Occasional shipments were also made to Santa Barbara and possibly to Loreto.[11]

The orders for lumber were quite large and kept Indians as well as parties of soldiers busy cutting pines in the Monterey hills and in the redwoods just north of the Pájaro. For example, one order for a new battery at San Diego required 1410 *tablones* (planks) 7 varas long, 300 *morillos*, 60 *vigas*, and nearly 300 pieces of other cuts. Probably not until the late 1830's was there again as much lumber on the beach at Monterey.[12]

During the Spanish period California redwood reached foreign countries only as botanical samples (Vancouver brought back redwood branches and cones) or as repair material on ships that had touched at California ports. The Providence ship *Hazard* which was repaired with redwood in San Francisco in 1804 doubtlessly brought the first redwood to the United States.[13]

Lima ships, which traded in hides and tallow with Monterey by 1813, probably took redwood back to lumber-starved Peru. In early 1818 the *Two Catherines,* a Providence vessel, was commissioned by the Peruvian viceroy to carry construction lumber from the Californias to the naval station at Callao in order to strengthen that port against rebel attacks. The ship reached San Blas in July where it had difficulties with Mexican authorities, and it is not known if it accomplished its mission. But the voyage indicates that Monterey lumber was known in Peru.[14]

During the late Spanish period foreign ship-jumpers at San Francisco and Monterey began to find that the nearby redwood groves made excellent hideouts until their ships sailed. Thus a rather motley assortment of deserters and mutineers became the core of California's first foreign colony.

The Pulgas redwoods of San Mateo attracted the first immigrants. In 1816 an American, William Smith, or "Bill the Sawyer," built a shack near Woodside. He was joined two years later by an English mutineer, James Peace, and in 1821 by John Copinger, a demoted English naval officer.[15]

By the 1830's the Pulgas woods were swarming with loggers. Some, such as James Weeks, another English deserter, left their names on California history. Others included Charles Brown, George Chappel, William Hanst, William Swinburn, and such assorted characters as French Joe, Black George, and Jim the Cook.[16] Whipsawing flourished in this area until the advent of the sawmill era.

The Santa Cruz woods sheltered dozens of Monterey ship-jumpers. The influx of foreign loggers increased the population of the Villa de Branciforte until it bulged with some three hundred souls in 1840.[17] William Buckle, an Englishman, founded the Santa Cruz foreign colony in 1822 after jumping ship at Monterey. He was soon joined by his brother, Samuel, and they changed their names to Thompson. Another English deserter, William Trevethan, joined them in 1828, and the trio logged the woods until the American period.[18]

The first Santa Cruz logging was carried on near the mission and villa, but soon the whipsawyers spread south into the Soquel and Aptos areas. An Irishman, Michael Lodge, married into the Castro family and obtained a large grant on Soquel Creek. He hauled his lumber to Capitola Beach, then known as Lodge's Beach.[19]

By 1835 the population of the woods was big and thirsty enough to support a distillery. So Job Dye and Ambrose Tomlinson built a still near present day Felton which soon did a rushing business. Later the partners sold out to Joseph Majors.[20]

The 1820's and early 1830's also found many whipsawyers and shingle splitters in the pine woods of the Monterey Peninsula.[21] These early independent whipsawyers peddled their lumber to ranchos, missions, presidios, and passing ships. But it was a small, disorganized business until the arrival in Monterey of a real organizer—Thomas O. Larkin. In addition to his better known activities, Larkin was to dominate the California lumber industry for nearly fifteen years.

Soon after arriving in Monterey in April, 1832, Larkin contacted the Thompsons, Trevethan, and other Santa Cruz loggers;[22] and in early 1833 he was sending shipments of lumber, including boards, doors, and door and window frames to Stearns, Temple, and Rice in Los Angeles and to a "Don Antonio" in Santa Barbara.[23] These first orders were shipped on the *Don Quixote*, a bark that was to be in the lumber trade until the end of the Mexican period.[24]

Larkin also sold lumber locally around Monterey; Nathan Spear, later San Francisco pioneer, was one of his best accounts.[25]

This early lumber trade was not as smooth or ethical as it later became. Larkin complained that the Angeleños were somewhat slow in paying, while Stearns countered that Larkin's prices were outrageous. Larkin moaned that at $55.00 a thousand he was making nothing; that demand was three times the supply; and that he must have cash, not hides, as the loggers demanded cash on the line.[26] His books belie this. Larkin was not swamped with lumber orders in 1833, and he invariably paid the loggers in merchandise, not cash.

But during 1833-34 a price pattern was established that remained

THOMAS O. LARKIN.

(Expressly for the Hesperian)

Courtesy of John A. Hawgood.

almost unchanged until mid-1847. Larkin paid $40.00 per thousand board feet for one-inch redwood boards and sold them for $50.00 or, occasionally, $55.00. Joists, pillars, and beams cost $30.00 or $35.00 and sold at $40.00. Two-inch redwood planks cost $55.00 or $60.00 and sold for $80.00 to $100.00. One-inch pine boards ran a little higher, costing Larkin $50.00 and selling for $60.00.[27]

Soon the $40.00 buying and the $50.00 selling price of a one-inch redwood board became as fixed as the two-dollar valuation of a hide. Considering that hauling by boat or cart from Santa Cruz to Monterey cost $10.00 per thousand,[28] we might assume that Larkin didn't get rich from the lumber trade. But he paid his loggers and haulers by credits upon his books against which the loggers drew food, liquor, clothing, tools, and other necessities at Larkin's store. His mark-up was fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent over cost; therefore he came out quite well.[29] Thus lumber, like hides, became practically a currency between 1833 and 1847.

In early 1834 Larkin hoped to make even greater profits by going directly into the production of lumber as well as its distribution. To fill an order for 9,000 feet, he sent a group of novices whom he paid $10.00 per thousand to the "Auctosh," either the Soquel or Aptos areas. By the end of the summer the crew had sawed only 3,000 feet while expenses stood at $375, and he had to call in two veteran lumbermen, Trevethan and Mark West. They took advantage of Larkin's plight and charged him $45.00 per thousand but got the lumber out in a hurry.

Spurred by this example, Larkin's amateurs swung into high gear and by the end of October had cut 41,000 feet at a profit of $800 to Larkin.[30] As the Auctosh was too muddy in the winter, Larkin moved his enterprise south to Amnesti's rancho, probably the Corralitos area, where he had to buy his trees for $4.00 each.[31] He also branched out into the pine forests near Monterey, and sent special shingle cutting crews to the redwoods. These men were paid about $3.50 per thousand shingles.[32]

By 1835, despite earlier successes, the venture was clearly losing money, and Larkin was having a very disagreeable time with his shingle foreman, Elias Hays.[33] His labor turnover was extremely high, probably because his wages were so low. Why saw lumber for Mr. Larkin for $10.00 when you could join the free-lancers and get $40.00? Even in view of the times, Larkin's labor policy was hardly enlightened, and all his enterprises had a similar turnover. Wages varied from $3.00 to $15.00 per month, with the average Anglo-Saxon getting about $10.00. Most of his employees worked only a few weeks, some only days. One payroll entry reads: "Worked two days then off to drink and gamble." One may wonder what money the man used to dissipate with, since Larkin only paid for a full week's work.[34]

In an attempt to save his faltering lumbering enterprise, Larkin cut his retail price to $40.00 and forced the independents to sell to him at $30.00 or $35.00. When this tactic failed, he pulled his hired crews. Larkin's price then went back up to $50.00 or $55.00,[35] and the individual whipsawyer continued to dominate the forests until he was driven into submission by the sawmills of the 1850's.

During Larkin's early years in the lumber business—the 1830's and 1840's—scores of whipsawyers roamed the redwoods. The records indicate the names of over 160 pre-Gold Rush pioneers who were engaged in lumbering. Many of the names appear regularly throughout the entire period—the Thompson brothers, Trevethan, James Rogers, William Branders, William Chard, Mark West, and William Garner, to name but a few. Others apparently arrived "broke" at Monterey and cut a few shingles which they traded with Larkin for necessities and then set out for other parts of California. If one considers the unrecorded Indian and Mexican helpers in the woods, it becomes obvious that logging was one of the major enterprises in the Mexican period.

Most of the loggers worked in pairs with a helper or two. But some like William Garner, who logged Amnesti's rancho between 1835 and 1840, employed many Indian and Mexican helpers. Like most of the loggers, Garner sent a good deal of his output to Larkin for retailing.[36]

As might be expected, these loggers were a rugged bunch. A few, such as Garner, were literate to a limited degree,[37] and some, including Lodge and Copinger, married into prominent Spanish families and received land grants in the redwoods; but most were illiterate. The usual social life of the redwood clique consisted of playing the Jew's-harp, drinking, and brawling. For diversion they would go to town (San José was the favorite) and drink and brawl. They drank wine, *aguardiente*, and beer; but rum was their favorite. Larkin's store, Dye's distillery on the Zyante, and Isaac Graham's still on the Pájaro kept the loggers stimulated.[38]

The woodsmen were always ready to take a violent part in the political upheavals of the Mexican era. Chief trouble maker was Isaac Graham who in the Alvarado Revolt of 1836 raised a company of *rifleros Americanos* from among the loggers who drank at his still. Although Graham was captain and Garner first lieutenant, they left the fighting to former British naval officer John Copinger, who fired the single cannon shot which hit the governor's house and won Monterey for Juan Bautista Alvarado.[39]

When Alvarado split with Graham in 1840, nearly everyone temporarily exiled to San Blas was from the redwoods. But the fact that Garner and some of the other loggers (mostly those who did good business with Larkin) were not arrested caused a rift in the redwood set that never healed.[40] Later, when the repatriated Graham offered support of the lumbermen to Manuel Micheltorena in 1843, many loggers signed a petition repudiating Graham.[41]

The early 1840's, notwithstanding the above-mentioned political upheavals, saw a big boom in the lumber business, and consequently an upturn in Larkin's lumber enterprise. Monterey itself contributed to the boom, as it was growing and demanding lumber. The renovated customhouse, the bridge near the graveyard, and the first wharf were only a few of the projects for which Larkin supplied lumber. An increasing number of ship arrivals stimulated the demand for masts, spars, timbers, and firewood—most of which Larkin supplied from the pine forest.[42]

Coastal and foreign trade flourished. Stearns was still selling Larkin's lumber in Los Angeles; Dr. Den was helping to build Santa Barbara with Santa Cruz redwood; the growing community of Yerba Buena was supplied by Larkin as well as from the East Bay and San Mateo woods. Larkin's lumber even reached New Helvetia. The cost of shipping to these points was a uniform $10.00 per thousand.[43]

Redwood, which does not readily rot, had a good demand in the humid islands of the Pacific. Paty's *Don Quixote* frequently shuttled to Honolulu with Larkin's lumber and returned with tools and consumer goods for his store.[44] Other lumber ships traded with Maui, while still others carried California timber to the Marquesas, Tahiti, and, possibly, Valparaíso.[45]

Some California redwood seems to have also reached the United

States. In June, 1846, the Salem bark *Angola*, under Captain Varney, arrived at Monterey with a cargo of New England hardware and household goods. Larkin paid with a note on his Boston agent and 100,000 feet of lumber and 100,000 shingles which Varney picked up at Santa Cruz.[46]

Further evidence of trade with the United States is contained in Larkin's report to the Secretary of State that one million feet of lumber was exported in 1846, and that in return for United States products Californians paid in "hides, tallow, dried beef, fat, lumber, soap, etc."[47]

A new era opened in the Santa Cruz woods in 1845, an era which would not fully bloom until after the Gold Rush. The sawmill invaded the forest. In 1841 Peter Lassen had built a small mill on the Zyante which he soon sold to Graham,[48] but the mill had little effect on the industry. But in 1845 three large scale mills were erected: Rousillion and Sainsavain's on the San Lorenzo; John Hames' on the Soquel; and William Blackburn's on the Branciforte.[49]

At first Larkin took most of the output of these mills in exchange for logging supplies. But soon the operators began to sell directly to William H. Davis and William Leidesdorff in the rapidly expanding town of Yerba Buena.[50]

As more Americans poured into the Bay area in 1846 and 1847 the demand for lumber rose. Whipsawyers and a growing number of mills worked feverishly not only in the Santa Cruz and Pulgas woods, but also in the Marin, Sonoma, and East Bay hills. By 1847 the forces of supply and demand began to upset the traditional $40.00-$50.00 price pattern, and wholesale prices began to fluctuate wildly between $30.00 and $50.00.[51]

By mid-1847 Larkin's interest had shifted away from the Monterey store, and he was no longer a principal in the lumber business. He continued to make large scale purchases of lumber, but only for real estate speculation in Yerba Buena and Benicia.[52]

After a brief interruption due to the Gold Rush, logging operations resumed on a larger scale than ever, but it was no longer the idyllic redwood forest of pre-American days. The sawmill expanded into all redwood areas, desolating the Southern Redwood Empire. Lumbering became big business,[53] and there was no place for two men and a whipsaw in the mechanized woods of the 1850's.

NOTES

1. Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the North-West Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1928), pp. 85-91, 242-47, 405, 435-36. Most authorities agree that Rodríguez Cabrillo's Bay of Pines was Monterey Bay.

2. Herbert E. Bolton (trans.) *Fray Francisco Palóu's Historical Memoirs of New California* (Berkeley, 1926), II, 198.

3. Bolton, *Palóu's Historical Memoirs,* III, 264, 303; Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), IV, 327-28, 361; III, 130-31, 137, 259.

4. *Archives of California,* I:111; VI:166, 237, 240, MSS, Bancroft Library. Extracts of the originals were made by H. H. Bancroft and are now in the Bancroft Library. The volume numbers and pagination are Bancroft numbers, not the original.

5. *Archives of Santa Barbara,* IX:506-07; II:71, 78-80, MSS, Bancroft Library. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), I, 492-94; H. A. Van Coenen-Torchiana *The Story of the Mission Santa Cruz* (San Francisco, 1933), pp. 175-93, 217-25.

6. Bolton, *Palóu's Historical Memoirs,* IV, 113-15, 141, 390n.

7. Bancroft, *History of California,* I, 463.

8. *Archives of California,* III:307-08; IV:285. *Morillo* referred to long poles or rafters; *vigas* to heavier beams (source: University of California's Spanish Department).

9. All standard California histories mention that the defense effort at this time is due to Vancouver and other foreign expeditions to the Pacific. *Archives of California,* XXII:382; XIV:112-15, record Arrillaga's orders to cut lumber. His successor, Borica, continued this policy.

10. *Archives of California,* VII:48, 50, 74, 80; VIII:102, 208-09; IX:34, 36.

11. *Archives of California,* VI:157, 341; VII:209-10, 188, 193, 151-54. These are a few of the documents that refer to lumber shipments.

12. *Archives of Santa Barbara,* II:26-27; *California,* Vol. 47, Doc. 4, pp. 216-220, MSS, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F. (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

13. *California,* Vol. 62, pp. 337-43, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, D. F.; *Archives of California,* XI:333, 376, 379-82.

14. William Manning (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of Latin American Nations* (New York, 1925), II, 943. Abraham P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California* (Stanford, 1945), p. 507.

15. B. F. Alley, *History of San Mateo County, California* (San Francisco, 1883), pp. 112, 114-20; "James Peace," *Biography and Reference Notes,* MSS, Bancroft Library; "John Coppinger," *Biography and Reference Notes.*

16. "Reminiscences of James Weeks," 1877, MS, Bancroft Library; Charles Brown, "Recollections of Early Events in California," p. 18, MS, Bancroft Library.

17. Torchiana, *Mission Santa Cruz,* pp. 217-31.

18. Torchiana, *Mission Santa Cruz,* pp. 217-31; "William and Samuel Buckle," *Biography and Reference Notes.* "William Trevethan," *Biography and Reference Notes.*

19. Torchiana, *Mission Santa Cruz,* pp. 341-43; Leon Rowland, *The Story of Old Soquel* (Soquel, 1940), p. 5.

20. Nicholas Dawson, *Narrative* (San Francisco, 1933), p. 37; "Ambrose Tomlinson," *Biography and Reference Notes;* Job Dye, "Recollections," MS, Bancroft Library.

21. Henry J. Bee, "Recollections," San Jose *Pioneer,* January 13, 1877.

22. *The Accounts of Thomas O. Larkin,* VI:8-20, MSS, Bancroft Library. The volume number is by Bancroft call number.

23. *Letters of Thomas O. Larkin to Abel Stearns,* 1833-58 (originals in Huntington Library; photostats in Bancroft Library), pp. 1, 2, 8, 15, 18, 19. Larkin always uses the spelling "Sterns," but most records use "Stearns."

24. *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* p. 19. The *Don Quixote* is pictured in T. J. Farnham, *Travels in California* (1860), p. 50. The ship was purchased in 1838 by Captain John Paty apparently from James McKinley with whom Larkin was doing business in January, 1833.

25. *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:8, 12-13.

26. *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* pp. 8, 15.

27. This pattern is clearly shown by an inspection of the *Accounts, Documents,* and other sources.

28. The *Accounts* indicate $10.00 as the average price for hauling 1000 feet of lumber. For logs or timbers the price was usually less.

29. *Accounts of Larkin,* IX, back of book, has general summary and profit and loss statements for 1833-45. Larkin's net worth increased from $500 to $66,660 during this time.

30. *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:69, 88, 97, 110, 116, 122, 123; *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* p. 39.

31. *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:178; *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* p. 39.

32. *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* p. 42, 44; *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:156, 162; VII:38.

33. *Letters of Larkin to Stearns,* pp. 46-47.

34. *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:112, 113, 161, 168, 180, and unnumbered back pages.

35. *Accounts of Larkin,* VI:194-95.

36. *Larkin Documents,* I, Docs. 10, 14, 132, and 152, MSS, Bancroft Library, are among the many documents and accounts covering relations between Larkin and Garner.

37. Letters and memoirs of Garner, Weeks, Brown, and others indicate at least a basic education.

38. Dawson, *Narrative,* p. 42, states: "I was bothered to keep a partner, as most

of the redwood sawyers preferred drinking at the still house to working, and I did most of the work myself." *Accounts of Larkin*, VIII:119, April 13, 1839, debits John Copinger, hero of the Alvarado Revolt, "3 Bottles Brandy drank in store 4/4; 1 Bottle for the road 0/0." *Accounts of Larkin*, X:192, and others, indicate sale of large numbers of Jew's-harps. Also see Albert Norris, "Diary of a Crazy Man," MS, Bancroft Library; and Santa Cruz *Sentinel* (clipping), May 15, 1869, in "Scrap Book of Job Dye," Bancroft Library.

39. Nearly all the memoirs indicate that most of the loggers were involved in this affair. Standard histories discuss the revolt but do not indicate the part played by the loggers. Bee, "Recollections," MS, Bancroft Library, pp. 6-8, discusses the roles of Graham, Garner, and Copinger. Larkin complained to Stearns on November 9, 1836, that the foreigners are all either under pay at the guardhouse or out on raids; that work had ended and he wishes for normal times again.

40. Thomas Farnham, *Life and Adventures in California* (New York, 1846), pp. 70-75, 90, gives Graham's side of the story: Garner, "a runaway Botany Bay English Convict," turned against Graham because Garner was not elected captain in 1836.

41. *Archives of Santa Cruz*, p. 51, MSS, Bancroft Library.

42. *Accounts of Larkin*, X:206, 216, 253; XII:229, 262.

43. Sea borne trade in this period would make an article in itself. Captains Paty and A. B. Thompson are mentioned most frequently. References include: *Accounts of Larkin*, V:114, 325; *Larkins Documents*, Vol. I, Docs. 84; Vol. II, Docs. 155, 199, 238, and 305; *Letters of Larkin to Stearns*, p. 65.

44. *Larkin Documents*, Vol. I, Docs. 54, 55, and 56; Hiram Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (1855), p. 572; Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast* (Santa Ana, 1937), I, 259. *The Polynesian*, II (March 7, 1846), 181.

45. Nasatir, *French Activities in California*, pp. 270-71; W. G., "Letters from California," *The Magazine of History*, XXVI (1845), 182-83; *Larkin Documents*, Vol. 5, Doc. 37.

46. *Larkin Documents*, Vol. 4, Docs. 161, 162, 163, and 176.

47. *Official Correspondence of Thomas O. Larkin, 1844-1849*, II:94, 99, 100, MSS, Bancroft Library.

48. Lawrence Nelson, "Peter Lassen," MS, Bancroft Library; "Peter Lassen," *Biography and Reference Notes;* Ruby Swartzlow "Peter Lassen," *CHSQ*, XVIII (December, 1939), 291-314; Dorothy Hertzog, "Isaac Graham" (Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1942), pp. 73-78, 86, 90, 106.

49. E. S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 60, 63; S. H. Willey, *A Historical Paper Relating to Santa Cruz* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 20-21. The *Accounts of Larkin* in 1845 frequently notes these names.

50. *Accounts of Larkin*, XII:322, 343.

51. See *Accounts of Larkin*, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. Prices fluctuate widely.

52. By late 1847 Larkin's *Accounts and Documents* deal with new ventures. He buys lumber from the mills and whipsawyers of Santa Cruz, San Mateo, Marin, the East Bay, and Sonoma redwood areas. But this is for building purposes, not for resale.

53. For an example of post-Gold Rush lumbering see the author's "The Forgotten Redwoods of the East Bay," *CHSQ*, XXX (March, 1951).

New Books

Stephen Watts Kearny: Soldier of the West. By Dwight L. Clarke. (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. 448 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John Haskell Kemble.

Well over a century elapsed after the death of Stephen Watts Kearny before this major figure in the history of the trans-Mississippi West received adequate study in a full-length biography. Dwight L. Clarke, a Los Angeles businessman, student of California history, and collector of Californiana, has now written a book which redresses this lack and places Kearny in the proper setting of his time as well as describing the significant part which he played in the history of the West.

Kearny's life was the Army. After attending Columbia College, he was commissioned in the New York Militia in 1810 at the age of sixteen, and in the United States Army two years later. He served on the Niagara frontier in the War of 1812, was ordered to Missouri in 1819, and spent virtually all the rest of his life on duty in the West. Participating in exploration, fort building, and Indian affairs, Kearny developed into an able leader of men and an intelligent student of the West in its many aspects. To an important extent he was responsible for the development of Army routine, tactics, and equipment which were really suited to the region beyond the Mississippi. With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, Kearny was designated commander of the Army of the West. He marched from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, and after establishing United States sovereignty in New Mexico he moved on to the Pacific Coast. In California he participated in the last phase of the conquest, and served as military governor until his return to the Missouri frontier in the early summer of 1847. The following winter saw him an important witness at the court-martial of John Charles Frémont after which he went to Mexico for further military duty. Kearny fell ill soon after reaching Veracruz and never recovered his health. He died in Missouri in the autumn of 1848.

Mr. Clarke has been tireless and resourceful in the gathering of materials for this biography. He has ranged through libraries and archives from California to the Atlantic Seaboard, and the "Notes on Sources" at the end of the book reveal his use of extensive manuscript and printed materials. The surviving Kearny papers are mainly official reports and laconic diaries with only a few really personal letters. A fully rounded picture of the man cannot legitimately be drawn from such materials, but Mr. Clarke has been able to put together a most satisfactory account of Kearny's public career with occasional glimpses of the man himself.

Of the nearly four hundred pages of text, about two-thirds deal with the last two and a half years of Kearny's life. This seeming disproportion merely reflects the greater importance of his work during the Mexican War than before and the relative richness of source materials for this period. From the time of his departure from Santa Fe for California, Kearny's actions became controversial due to the dispute over authority in California which developed between him and Stockton and Frémont. This rift resulted in varying interpretations of almost every move Kearny made between December of 1846 and the summer of 1847. Since the colorful figure of Frémont has attracted a host of biographers and novelists—albeit not all admirers of his—the trend of opinion expressed has been pro-Frémont and anti-Kearny. Mr. Clarke sets out to examine the sources fully, and the portion of the book dealing with these events is replete with analyses of both sides of argument after argument. His study has made Mr. Clarke frankly an admirer of Kearny, and the force of the evidence which he sets forth tends to persuade the reader of the soundness of his interpretation. Certainly Kearny emerges from this study as a much more significant and admirable figure than has been his previous popular reputation.

To this reviewer it is regrettable, although doubtless unavoidable, that the narrative of this crucial period of Kearny's career should be so dominated by the pros and cons of controversy. What Kearny did had an importance of its own irrespective of what Frémont or his friends said or did. With the passing years other books will appear on this subject, and this account which is so closely tied to works now in print which bear on the Kearny-Frémont controversy will almost surely take on a "dated" quality. The excellent work of Mr. Clarke does not deserve this.

The text does not have footnotes, but the "Notes on Sources" are organized by chapters and draw together source citations for each important topic. Thus notes and bibliography are combined in this section. The book is illustrated by reproductions of portraits and of contemporary and modern pictures of places and events described. There is a quite inadequate sketch map to illustrate the text. A better map and detailed plans of such actions as San Pasqual and La Mesa would have been useful additions. The book is handsomely designed and its fine appearance enhances the pleasure of the reader in using it.

In this book, Mr. Clarke proves himself a worthy member of that fine company of non-professional historians who have done such fine work in the vineyard of California history. He takes his place with Bancroft, Hittell, Wagner, Wheat, Harding, and others who have done solid research and have presented their findings in good fashion. His narrative moves along with energy and purpose, and although the emphasis is quite properly on the events of Kearny's career, these are well related to the times. The book as a whole is a major contribution to the bibliography of California, and one for which the scholar and the intelligent general reader alike will be grateful.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, author of *Panama Route, 1848-1869* and of *San Francisco Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History*, is professor of history at Pomona College.

Photographer of the Southwest—Adam Clark Vroman, 1856-1916. (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1961. 127 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

The rediscovery of a great American photographer—Adam Clark Vroman—

is now fittingly celebrated. The reproduction in painstaking and brilliant manner of over a hundred prints made from the original glass negatives of a forgotten photographer has resulted in one of the most beautiful books of the year.

Between 1895 and 1904, when Vroman did his finest work, he had a love affair with the Southwest, especially with southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico. Like his friend Charles Lummis, who first got him interested in photography, he was excited about documenting the California missions, the Pueblo Indians, and the stark and shining beauty of the Southwestern scene. Amateur though he has been called, Vroman had a poetic eye and a singular feeling for composition. Out of twenty-four hundred surviving negatives a selection was made for this volume that is a pictorial record of entrancing quality and historic value. Whether the subject matter is Pasadena's Pickwick Club (1900), the Camulos Rancho (1895), Yosemite Valley (1901), San Miguel Mission (1896), Acoma (1904), Zuñi Pueblo (1897), Hopi portraits (1901), Cañon de Chelly (1904), desert clouds (1895), or even a Pennsylvania farm scene (1900), Vroman's efforts brought forth photographs of unfailing clarity that are impeccably composed and emotionally satisfying.

Until the recent rediscovery that Vroman was a photographer, the name Vroman in southern California meant the huge book-selling enterprise founded by him in Pasadena. Lawrence Clark Powell, a one-time Vroman delivery boy—fired for reading on company time—had been asked in 1953 to write a brochure honoring the opening of a new bookstore. His sleuthing operations, aided by suggestions of ethnologist Frederick Webb Hodge and the persistent efforts of James Mink of UCLA's Department of Special Collections, uncovered boxes of dust-covered, glass negatives in the forgotten files of the Los Angeles County Board of Education. The negatives were transferred to the History Division of the Los Angeles County Museum, headed by Curator Ruth I. Mahood who proceeded thenceforth to shout from the housetops about the Southwest's new great photographer.

A combination of talents brought the present book into existence—in addition to those of the photographer himself. Miss Mahood, aided by Robert Weinstein, made the selection of the pictures reproduced. She edited them, and tells here the story of the finding of the lost Vroman plates. Beaumont Newhall, director of George Eastman House and authority on photographic history, furnishes the introduction with its account of Vroman and his methods. William Webb relates the problems involved in making new prints that preserve the quality of the original negatives. The superb book design is accountable to the publisher, The Ward Ritchie Press.

As an extra dividend, the volume contains Vroman's own story of the sensational climb he made with Hodge in 1897 to the top of the Enchanted Mesa where proof was found that it had once been inhabited.

William Wilcox Robinson, a trustee of the California Historical Society and a member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society of Southern California, is a foremost authority on the history of southern California.

Man of the Plains: Recollections of Luther North, 1856-1882. Edited by Donald F. Danker. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1961. 350 pp. $4.75.) Reviewed by Rodney C. Loehr.

The wild and wooly West was at its wildest in the 1860's and 1870's. Hostile Cheyenne and Sioux barred white expansion on the plains and with the savage Apache and sturdy Navajo in the mountains and desert of the Southwest formed a barrier to transcontinental movement. Emigrant caravans were harassed, settlers murdered and their property destroyed or looted, and marauders of various kinds prowled about to kill and pillage. The construction of transcontinental railroads was subject to interdiction from the swooping raids of the nomadic tribes. A series of Indian wars finally led to the pacification of the plains, the expansion of white settlement, and the building of transcontinental railroads, but it was three decades before the process was completed.

Why did it take so long? After all, the Confederacy had been crushed in four years. The country to be pacified was large in extent, sparsely populated by hostile, nomadic tribes, and transportation routes were poor or non-existent. With the aid of the horse, the hostile tribes were highly mobile, and with the buffalo for food and the tipi for a home, the tribes were not tied to any particular site and could not be defeated by the occupation of any particular region.

If the Indians were to be defeated, they must first be discovered, and the attacking column must be protected from ambush and surprise. Pawnee Indian scouts, commanded by white officers, were found to be best for this important work. Scout officers had to know the Pawnee language and Indian ways. To manage Indian scouts they had to be a combination of strict father and indulgent uncle. The scout officers had to share the food, shelter, and hardships of their men. White scouts had to protect friendly Indians from the wrath of whites intent on killing all Indians, lead their followers in battle, and restrain them from vengeance on subdued tribal enemies. The white scout was adviser and intelligence analyst for his commander, a guide for cross-country movements, and a rescuer of lost commands. He was the first upon the scene of battle during attacks and the commander of the rear guard upon retreats.

As early as 1864 Captain Frank North organized a hundred Pawnee scouts. Later, his brother Luther North commanded as many as a battalion of Pawnee scouts. The Norths came from Ohio to the Nebraska frontier before the Civil War. During that conflict they served in expeditions against the Indians and engaged in scouting with Pawnee volunteers. In 1867 two hundred Pawnees were enlisted to guard the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the Norths were in command of the contingent of scouts. Two years later the Norths recruited a company of Pawnee scouts for a winter campaign into the Sioux country. In the years that followed they served as guides and hunters for the Yale Scientific Expedition in 1870, engaged in buffalo hunting on their own account, and scouted with their Indian warriors for military expeditions in Nebraska, to the Black Hills with Custer, and to the Yellowstone in 1876. Then, in 1877, the North brothers and Buffalo Bill Cody started the Cody-North cattle ranch on the headwaters of the Dismal River in Nebraska. In the summer of 1882 the partners sold out their ranch holdings, just before the end of the Great Plains cattle boom.

The story of the Norths has been told twice before. In 1928 George Bird Grinnell in *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion* published an account of the Norths based on a manuscript by Luther North and a memoir by Frank North. Four years later Robert Bruce presented a potpourri of information about the Norths in a brochure entitled *The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts,* that was based mainly on correspondence with Luther North. The present account consists of the recollections of Luther North, completed in 1925 at the urging of Grinnell who prepared a foreword for the manuscript. The present editor divided the manuscript into chapters, provided all but one of the footnotes, and added explanatory supplementary material at the end of the chapters. A series of maps locates Nebraska's river systems, forts, Indian agencies, military departments on the plains, Indian tribes, Union Pacific construction, and the routes of various campaigns and expeditions. Letters from Luther North, notes on the Pawnees and the Norths, and a Great Plains chronology have been recorded in appendixes. Although the main outlines of the North story have been told in earlier accounts, it is useful to have the recollections of such an important plains' figure as Luther North in his own words, rather than to have the story filtered through the accounts of other writers. The editor is to be commended for the scrupulous care with which he has presented Luther North's recollections. This is a book which will be mined constantly by writers who are digging for the story of the Great Plains.

RODNEY C. LOEHR, associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota, has edited *Minnesota Farmers' Diaries* and *Forests of the Future: The Diaries of David T. Mason.*

Aerial California. An Account of Early Flight in Northern and Southern California 1849 to World War I. By Kenneth M. Johnson. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1961. 91 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by John B. Rae.

The concentration of aircraft manufacturing in California is a matter of general knowledge. What has not been as widely understood is the astonishing amount of aeronautical pioneering which was done in California. Mr. Johnson has filled this gap more than adequately.

The opening date of 1849 will doubtless be startling; yet in that year Rufus Porter, then editor of the *Scientific American,* was proposing a dirigible airship as the solution to the problem of crossing the continent. It must be remembered that ballooning was a well established art by the middle of the nineteenth century, so that the idea of powered lighter-than-air flight was no wild vision. In fact, a steam-powered dirigible was flown in France in 1852. Some years later there was some experimentation with model airships by Frederick Marriott, editor of the

San Francisco News Letter and formerly an associate of William Henson and John Stringfellow, who did some interesting and significant work in aviation in England.

Mr. Johnson has had to evaluate the contributions of a great many individuals; I find myself in complete agreement with his decision to devote an entire chapter to John Joseph Montgomery and another to Thomas Scott Baldwin, since these are easily the most important of the early California pioneers. Montgomery's story is a fascinating and frustrating one—that of a man whose very real contributions to the solution of the problems of flight were largely ignored at the time and almost forgotten. Yet, it is clear that Montgomery has some claim to having anticipated the Wrights in achieving stability by a technique for coordinating wing-warping with movement of the rudder. The author mentions this device as being employed in 1905, but the patent litigation suggests that Montgomery had worked it out earlier. He never got as far as powered flight; this was probably the reason for his long obscurity.

Baldwin, as the author suggests, deserves a full-length biography. He was a pioneer in the field of dirigibles, and he was one of the first men, if not the first, to design and use a collapsible silk parachute. His airship, the *California Arrow*, was the first successful American-built dirigible. His greatest achievement, however, was to bring Glenn Curtiss into aviation, since it was Curtiss, a manufacturer of motorcycle engines, who provided Baldwin with his first satisfactory power plant. This experience with aircraft engines led in turn to Curtiss becoming a member of Alexander Graham Bell's Aerial Experiment Association. Curtiss has an additional place in the California story in that much of his early development work on seaplanes was done at San Diego.

There is also a good summary of Glenn Martin's early career. Here there is a somewhat puzzling omission. Mr. Johnson explains in his preface that he has intentionally excluded famous first flights from the text, and for valid reasons. Nevertheless, Martin's flight in 1912 from Newport to Catalina Island and back on the same day appears important enough both in Martin's career and in the history of flight generally to justify inclusion.

This, however, is admittedly a matter of judgment and does not detract from the high quality of the author's achievement. He has stopped his study at the end of the pioneering period, because the history of aviation in California after the First World War is clearly a separate story. For the time span that he has covered, he has put together a record which not only makes interesting reading but is going to be indispensable to the student either of the history of California or of the history of aviation.

John B. Rae, professor of history at Harvey Mudd College, is the author of *American Automobile Manufacturer: The First Forty Years* and of (with Thomas D. Mahoney) *The United States in World History.*

Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain, 1575-1742. By Peter Gerhard. (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960. 274 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Piracy has always been a topic of popular interest, and a scholarly investigation of that extralegal activity is the subject of Gerhard's contribution as Volume VII of Arthur H. Clark's Spain in the West series. Considering the publishing firm, it almost goes without saying that the work is printed in excellent style.

The author has gathered together materials concerning piratical activities on the west coast of North America, whose data are already largely known. Chief value of the book is to present these materials together in an integrated study. In the 167 years under consideration, the author indicates that twenty-five or more pirate groups were active, the British in the lead temporally, numerically, and financially, with Dutch and then French activities next in frequency. Much piracy in the area was incidental to more attractive possibilities along the South American coasts. The lure of relatively unguarded coastal ports and of ponderous Manila galleons laden with oriental riches tempted some pirates to extend operations northward.

A convenient closing summary indicates that over sixty-five prizes were taken, but that only Thomas Cavendish (1587), Henry Morgan (1671), Bartholomew Sharp and associates (1680-81), and Woodes Rogers (1709-10) had any appreciable financial success in the area. Indeed, many pirates were repulsed or left with little booty for their trouble. It is easy to see why Caribbean and Atlantic waters were preferred through their facility of entry and wealth of prizes, as well as ease of logistic supply.

That the pirates and privateers (pirates whose activities were intended to promote national interests in time of war) presented a problem is evident from Spanish alarm. Notwithstanding this fear, the piratical activities only constituted a sporadic threat to Spain's control of its private lake—the Pacific Ocean. Loss of treasure was inconsequential as compared to military and naval damage and wanton destruction.

The author ascribes a relative lack of Pacific coastal settlements to the effects of the pirates, and thereby consequent governmental discouragement of colonization of those shores. This explanation fails to account for more basic causes of inhospitable climate, lack of local production needing to be transported, scarcity of natural harbors, and for Spain's strongly mercantilistic colonial organization.

Gerhard makes use of both manuscript and contemporary printed sources. Seville's Archive of the Indies has yielded most of the former. A glossary of terms used is appreciated, and five illustrations add visual interest.

In summary, the book provides a convenient summary of piratical activities, yet seemingly would leave considerable room for more detailed treatment of nearly any of the individuals or episodes treated.

DONALD C. CUTTER, whose field of interest is Spanish naval history, is the author of *Malaspina in California.* Currently, Professor Cutter is a Fulbright fellow in Madrid, Spain, where he is engaged in archival research and in teaching.

Civil War Railroads: Pictorial Story of the Iron Horse, 1861 thru 1865. By George B. Abdill. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1961. 192 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Leo P. Kibby.

The Civil War was indeed a railroad war. For the first time, the railroad became an integral part of a total war, and it made history in numerous ways: carrying troops and material to theaters of operations from first Bull Run; serving as a hospital unit transporting the wounded survivors from early battles such as that fought at Wilson's Creek near Springfield, Missouri; depicting a tense and unusual drama as was the case in the race between the "General" and the "Texas" in the famous Andrews raid; and climaxing a national tragedy as it carried the dead President from Washington to Illinois.

So significant had the railroad become that much of the war was fought not only to gain possession of major railroad junctions such as those at cities like Memphis, Nashville, Vicksburg, Corinth, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Richmond—to name a few—but to destroy the railroad lines of the enemy. And in this latter endeavor men like General Sherman became most proficient. At the same time each side used extreme care to protect its own railroads, to construct new lines, and in instances of enemy action to repair damages hurriedly in order that the use of the iron horse would not be delayed in the waging of major campaigns. Again, it was Sherman who said that the railroads were essential to the success of the Atlanta campaign.

In this pictorial story of the iron horse during the Civil War period the author, George B. Abdill, has made a real contribution. He has presented over 250 photographs of locomotives, depots, bridges, and other characteristics of the railroads. All photographs have been assimilated from a wide variety of original and authentic sources: the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Association of American Railroads; from such railroad companies as the Illinois Central and the Pennsylvania; also, from private collections like Ansco Brady and Harold S. Walker. Moreover, Abdill has described the elaborate work of such influential railroad men as Herman Haupt, Daniel Craig McCallum, and Thomas A. Scott. Aware of such authenticity, the careful student of history who examines these rare photographs should be impressed in a variety of ways: with the observable stages in evolution of the railroads; how the iron horse operated while a civil war was fought; the many different types of engines, when they were built, and by what companies; the names of the railroad companies; evidence of the effectiveness of the work of the Construction Corps in both original construction and in repair following military damage; the nature of bridge demolition; scenes of rail destruction, wreckage, and salvage operations. All of these features and more, including photographs showing the radical transition to rail-borne guns, are included in this handsomely bound size 8½ x 11 book.

A most unique and attractive arrangement by the author was to include from one to four photographs on each page. And for each photograph an adequate description was set forth and completed within the framework of the double pages where the photographs appeared. This makes for conciseness in presentation and permits the reader to observe quickly and conveniently in each photograph the characteristics described in the commentary.

Though numerous histories of Civil War railroads have been written, this is the first major attempt to present their history in pictures. Indeed, the book is a most welcome contribution and to Mr. Abdill should go the generous praise of Civil War students. Moreover, it is well that such a pictorial history was undertaken by one who is already well known for his earlier studies and writings on the railroads in the West, the Northwest, and in northern California.

LEO P. KIBBY, a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, is chairman of the area of social science at San Jose State College. An authority on California's activities during the Civil War, Dr. Kibby has written numerous articles in this field.

Reports from Colorado: The Wildman Letters, 1859-1865. Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961. 333 pp. $12.00.) Reviewed by W. Eugene Hollon.

The latest work by the Hafens constitutes Volume XIII of The Far West and Rocky Mountain series. Its quality paper, type, and design, long a trademark of The Arthur H. Clark Company, make it a book well worth possessing. And Dr. and Mrs. Hafen once again demonstrate in the Introduction and by judicious selection of annotated notes why they are considered the leading authorities on the pioneer history of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain region. Unfortunately, one has to read the book with a letter opener in hand because of the numerous uncut pages. Maybe the publisher has a valid excuse for leaving so many pages uncut, but it escapes my artistic appreciation.

In the brief introduction the editors survey the Pikes Peak gold rush, pointing out that one hundred thousand gold seekers set out from the Missouri in the spring of 1859. About fifty thousand reached the mountains, and about half of these returned home shortly after reaching Cherry Creek. A few hours' digging convinced many that the whole thing was a "humbug," and their disappointment in not finding nuggets lying all over the place was bitter indeed. But new discoveries at crucial times saved the moment from complete failure, and enough people stayed on to give Colorado a permanent population base upon which it could mature into eventual statehood.

Among the thousands of "tenderfeet" who reached the Colorado gold fields in 1859 was Thomas G. Wildman and his brother Augustus. Their letters to members of the Wildman family, along with intermittent replies, extended over a six-year period. In addition, the editors have inserted related correspondence and reports regarding local conditions in Colorado. Some of the latter material appeared in a previous Clark publication edited by Professor Hafen in 1941.

In general the various documents contain much duplicated information and are similar to the thousands published on the California gold rush. Though few individuals struck it rich in mining, much gold dust was taken from the Denver area in the early years of the boom. Prices on food and merchandise fluctuated with the extreme shortages and oversupply. Complaints against the express companies and erratic mail deliveries were constant, and letters and newspapers from home sometimes were more prized than gold.

Most activity closed during the winter and miners returned to the East to await better working conditions. Those who remained in Denver and other mining camps were fortunate to find employment to meet the bare essentials of staying alive. Though gambling and bawdy houses did a thriving business, there was a surprising regard for law and order and church services were well attended. Gradually the log cabins and shanties of Denver gave way to more attractive and substantial buildings, and civilization came to Colorado as business and agriculture eventually surpassed mining in the region's economy.

W. Eugene Hollon, professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas. A frequent contributor to scholarly journals on the American West, Professor Hollon is the author of *The Lost Pathfinder, Zebulon Montgomery Pike* and of *The Southwest: Old and New.*

Calvin B. West of the Umpqua. By Reginald R. Stuart and Grace D. Stuart. (Stockton, The California History Foundation, 1961. 115 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Iris Higbie Wilson.

The diaries and letters of Calvin Brookings West provide a penetrating insight into a phase of Oregon's pioneer history which has not previously fallen within the scope of more general works. Through a combination of circumstances, West's name was almost completely erased from the early records of Douglas County—but Calvin West deserved to be remembered. The editors are quick to admit that West was hardly the most important man in Umpqua's history, but effectively point out by means of their hero's own writings that his contributions were certainly noteworthy. Not only did this some time school teacher write in detail of his journey along the Oregon Trail in 1853—a time when the days of trail-blazing, the Oregon Methodist missions and the excited phase of the California Gold Rush had given way to the more routine hardships of western travel—but upon reaching the Umpqua, West wrote of his search for a homesite, his plans for building schools, and his dreams for providing his wife and children with an ideal life. Obviously not the prototype of the commonly depicted reckless and illiterate pioneer individual, Calvin West was a mature, sincere, and deeply religious man who entered Oregon as a home-seeker, not as a gold-seeker, and as such, expressed the thoughts and hopes of a considerable number of his fellow emigrants.

Reginald R. and Grace D. Stuart have done a very thorough job of research throughout Oregon and elsewhere in order to present a complete study of West's brief but significant role in the history of southern Oregon. Perhaps the editors could have clarified some of the expressions and terms used in the letters and diaries, although fortunately both West and his daughter, the major contributors, were extremely literate.

Consistent with the standard of excellency maintained by San Francisco's Lawton Kennedy, the book is beautifully designed and printed. Its several illustrations serve to enhance its usefulness and attractiveness.

DR. IRIS HIGBIE WILSON, a former Del Amo Foundation fellow, is presently an instructor in Western American history at Long Beach City College.

From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort, 1846. By Heinrich Lienhard. Edited and translated by Erwin G. Gudde and Elisabeth K. Gudde. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. 204 pp. $3.95.) Reviewed by Henry H. Clifford.

This is a valuable addition to the record of overland journeys, particularly those prior to the Gold Rush. Leaving St. Louis on April 21st, 1846, Lienhard and his four companions journeyed by steamer up the Missouri to Independence for final outfitting, and thence to Indian Creek. They left Indian Creek in a substantial wagon train on May 12th, finally arriving at Sutter's Fort on or about October 17th. They were the last party to cross the Sierra, being just ahead of the Donner party. Lienhard and his companions experienced the usual trials and tribulations of the overland journey, but were fortunate in avoiding trouble with the Indians and any major disasters.

The journal is historically valuable not only for the general picture it paints of an immigrant wagon train, but also for its record of Lienhard's encounters with such men as James Clyman, Joseph Reddeford Walker, and Captain Lansford W. Hastings. Thanks to the last named, the party took the Hastings Cutoff via Great Salt Lake, which resulted in considerable hardship and serious delay.

The early part of Lienhard's original journal was lost and later rewritten from memory; and the entire journal was reworked in later years. This probably accounts for a certain lack of freshness in the narration and a lack of preciseness in many of the dates. The reader wonders why it is that Lienhard seems to know the name of practically every river, valley, and range betwen St. Louis and Sutter's Fort. The answer is probably twofold: the rewriting at a later date and the original use of maps such as that of Charles Preuss. Such maps were probably taken for granted at the time, and hence were the subject of little or no comment. In spite of the fact that the journal is hard to evaluate because of being reworked, it is still one of the three most important overland journals of 1846, the "Year of Decision."

To one who has had only a passing acquaintance with overland journals, this account comes as quite an eye-opener. It has been said of the western migration that "only the brave started out, and only the strong got through." This journal rather negates that saying in large measure, and shows that Lady Luck had much to do with the successful overland journeys of many who were rather inept at frontier living or temperamentally unsuited to pioneering.

Dr. and Mrs. Gudde have done a most commendable job of translating and editing. The narration flows smoothly in spite of the uncertainty of dates mentioned above. The footnotes are most useful in identifying the various pioneers mentioned, and in clarifying other matters. One could wish that the editors had added marginal "estimates" of the dates where Lienhard is not precise, together with a map of the entire journey showing approximate dates of arrival. They have added a very useful bibliography of the 1846 migration; and the book is tastefully illustrated by the paintings of William Henry Jackson and one map showing the Hastings Cutoff.

HENRY H. CLIFFORD is a trustee of the California Historical Society, of the Southwest Museum, and of the Book Club of California. A graduate of Yale University, Mr. Clifford recently edited the *Westerners Brand Book, Number 9.*

Fervent and Full of Gifts: The Life of Althea Warren. By Martha Boaz. (New York, The Scarecrow Press, 1961. 163 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by Dudley C. Gordon.

This biographical tribute to Althea Warren, late librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, is a book of zest and verve. It is an expression of appreciation of rare companionship, admiration, and love. This work is a perfect tribute from a colleague and fellow librarian. It is a good book, deserving of a more careful printer. An index would enhance its value.

After eleven years at the San Diego Library, Althea Warren accepted the post of first assistant librarian and head of branches at the Los Angeles Library in 1926. This position she held until 1933 when she succeeded Everett R. Perry as librarian at his death.

Upon the assumption of her new duties, Miss Warren was faced with a host of momentous problems arising from the depression and the resulting drastic curtailment of the budget. It was a time when the number of readers was greatly expanded due to unemployment and increased leisure and an explosive growth in population. But Althea Warren faced her task with her characteristic "chin up" spirit and her never-failing good humor. She encouraged her staff to regard a trying situation as an opportunity to practice the improvement of public relations, to welcome each patron, and to make him feel that it was a privilege to serve him. In this she was highly successful and the staff loved her for it.

Althea Warren was one of the happy few whose vocation and avocation were the same. She delighted in books. She devoured them, digested them, and referred to them frequently and at the most opportune times. Her enthusiasm for her work was infectious, and numerous of her fellow workers have attested that they caught some of her spirit from observing her at work.

The author points out that Miss Warren derived so much enjoyment from her profession that she felt compelled to urge others to follow in her footsteps. She gave much time to considering the qualifications of a good librarian, and at every opportunity she expressed her thoughts along this line in her typical dynamic fashion. Her words would be helpful to any incipient librarian today. She encouraged people of good health and honesty who delighted in people, who possessed intellectual curiosity, and who tempered their days with a bit of fun to consider entering the profession of librarianship, especially if they had a sense of order, believed in and read books, and enjoyed working with others of like interests. She frequently quoted from the Code of Ethics of the American Library Association: "The Staff owes impartial, courteous service to all persons using the library. No distinction of race, color, creed or condition should influence the attitude of the staff and no favoritism should be tolerated. A cold officialism is to be avoided and a cordial attitude which welcomes approach should be manifested by those in direct contact with the public."

During Miss Warren's administration the Los Angeles Library attained first place in per capita reading for the whole country. In the library world it is regarded as one of America's finest institutions.

Upon her retirement in 1947 Miss Warren plunged into numerous community activities. Typical was the manner in which she gave her time and energy in preventing the historic home of author-historian Charles F. Lummis from becoming a motel. From 1947 to 1958 she served as president and secretary of the Charles F. Lummis Memorial Association. Largely through the efforts of Miss Warren, El Alisal, the castle-like home of Lummis, a cultural pioneer in Los Angeles, has been preserved for posterity in its original distinctive atmosphere. She and the other dedicated members of the Memorial Association awakened sufficient interest to maintain the property until the state of California made it Historical Monument No. 531. (It has also become the Southern California Headquarters of the California Historical Society.)

Miss Warren's interest in Lummis was manifold. He had been a predecessor as city librarian whose aggressive administration from 1905-10 made the Los Angeles Library one of the foremost in the country. He was an oustanding authority on the Southwest and wrote a dozen books on her favorite part of the country. She worked to keep his memory fresh.

Dr. Boaz, dean of the University of Southern California School of Library Science, was privileged to know Althea Warren as a colleague at USC, as a fellow librarian, and as a boon companion. A love of books drew them together, a love of nature and a spirit of fun made them inseparable. Their weekend and holiday trips by motor car eased the tension of their work and gave them pleasure doing congenial things in congenial company. They became affectionate intimates. Miss Boaz learned how aptly the line from Edna St. Vincent Millay "Fervent and full of gifts—and free from guile" fitted her charming, outgiving, and now departed friend, Althea Warren.

Dudley C. Gordon, associate professor of English at Los Angeles City College, is a graduate of Hobart College, Harvard, and Columbia. Author of *Cultural Assets of Los Angeles* and of numerous articles on Charles Fletcher Lummis, Professor Gordon is currently working on a biography of Lummis.

Yesterday's Land: A Baja California Adventure. By Leonard Wibberley. (New York, Ives Washburn, 1961. 154 pp. $3.50.) Reviewed by Drew B. Pallette.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Leonard Wibberley has presented this account of his trip into the Baja California hinterland at this time. Wibberley, who writes in the tradition of the romantic, Irish raconteur, has given pleasure to many in his reports on various spots from Ireland to Fiji. But in the last few years Baja California has become a subject of intense interest to a growing number of would-be explorers escaping from California suburbia. The northern half of the peninsula, below where the pavement ends, is now combed by hundreds of jeeps and four-wheel-drive trucks yearly (and consequently the more ambitious explorers will now have to move on further south). Quite a number of books have been written by these hardy scouts, from Gerhard and Gulick's invaluable guidebook through Erle Stanley Gardner's three journalistic narratives to Krutch's recent naturalist's study. Consequently, Wibberley's pleasant but unpresuming account faces a good deal of serious comparison on the part of the "professionals."

Wibberley was seeing the country for the first time, and then only briefly. With a friend, Bill Dredge, he travelled in a four-wheel-drive Dodge truck from the paved highway north of Ensenada across trails and improvised roads through Guadalupe to the paved highway on the east coast, thence down again into the back country to Bahía San Luis Gonzaga and Laguna Chapala. From here they took the "main" highway—usually a set of truck-tracks—back to Tijuana. On the way north, they attempted a side trip to the mountain meadows of the San Pedro Mártir, without success.

Like other journalists, Wibberley dramatizes the hazards and the state of the road. He relies also, however, upon his gift for whimsy and fantasy, and at times indulges in imaginary conversations with Father Baegert, the eighteenth-century missionary whose *Observations in Lower California* seems to be his main source of information concerning the peninsula's background. Those who like this sort of writing will enjoy the book; Wibberley's pleasing personality pervades throughout. But he never gets beyond the familiar, and sometimes even this is presented rather carelessly. The historian, the serious reader, or the Baja California enthusiast will find little that is new.

Drew B. Pallette, whose field of interest is Western American literature, is currently visiting associate professor of English at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Old directories are beginning to be appraised as being uniquely rich in presenting an intimate and tantalizing picture of older townsites and their inhabitants. The Talisman Press now issues a facsimile reproduction of an important and rare directory, *The First Directory of Nevada Territory*, issued in 1862. In addition to the names of residents of the principal towns, *The First Directory* (Los Gatos, Talisman Press, 1962. 320 pp. $10.00) contains a historical sketch, the "Organic Act," and other matters of interest. Of a highly informative local historical value, every page of the original has been meticulously reproduced for such towns and mining camps, as Virginia City, Carson City, Gold Hill, Aurora, Silver City, and others. The first map of the area, Henry DeGroot's "Map of the Washoe Silver Mines," and his "Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines" have been included. All three items represent the earliest printed material relating to Nevada.

Dull and blank, indeed, would be the study of Western Americana were it not for the discoveries and publication of well-kept journals of frontier life. One that has been recorded in a crisply, informative detail is the manuscript of Elizabeth Reynolds Burt—"An Army Wife's Forty Years in the Service." Merrill J. Mattes based his carefully researched study, *Indians, Infants and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier* (Denver, The Old West Publishing Company, 1960. 304 pp. $5.95), upon Mrs. Burt's memoirs. Mattes, historian with the National Park Service, made an extensive study of the frontier forts to which Andrew S. (Brave Andy) Burt and his family were assigned. He has combined this research with official reports and other accounts of the infantry in the Indian-fighting Army. The journal emphasizes the domestic side of frontier army life in such army outposts as Forts Smith, Laramie, Bridger, Sanders, and Casper. The account is fascinating and merits due recognition in libraries interested in Indian wars and the West.

Once more, an Indian war-whoop is heard in the publishing world—that of the Ute chieftain Wakara. Conway B. Sonne's *World of Wakara* (San Antonio, Naylor Company, 1962. 236 pp. $4.95) shows evidence of time and effort spent in the compilation of this work. Wakara, pre-eminent among horse thieves, became a terror to isolated ranchers, to west-bound travelers on the Overland and Old Spanish trails, and particularly to the Mormons. The latter eventually brought defeat to Wakara and his band, and an end to the troubles they created. Although the bibliography and numerous footnotes indicate considerable effort expended, the story lacks the imaginative and colorful pen that has graced other biographies of this renegade chief of the Utes, Wakara.

Battalion of Saints, by Richard Wormer (New York, David McKay Company, 1961. 312 pp. $4.95), is an exciting, fast-moving novel which combines real and fictional characters. It depicts the march of the Mormon Battalion from Iowa to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and their service in the Mexican War.

Brewed in America: the History of Beer and Ale in the United States, by Stanley Baron (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1962. 424 pp. $7.50), is a historical survey of the growth and evolution of beer in the United States from the time of the *Mayflower* to the present. Chapters covering Prohibition days are well handled. The vast amount of research, the references, the Bibliography, and the fine Index—all point up to one of the definitive histories of this subject.

A Story of Yosemite, as It Appeared Nearly 100 Years Ago! (Susanville, Lassen Litho Printing and Publishing Company, 1960. 32 pp. $1.00) is a well produced brochure that portrays in sepia some of the lovely and artistic engravings of the Yosemite of a hundred years ago.

Publisher Philip S. Rush's *Southern California Rancher* indicates his devotion as a historian and observer of all things San Diegan. His latest brochure, *Beautiful San Diego County* (San Diego, Philip S. Rush, 1961. 64 pp. $2.00), includes sixty-four photographs which to him typify the best of pastoral areas yet to be enjoyed and discovered in San Diego County.

An informative preface by Dudley C. Gordon adds much to the third edition of *My Friend Will* (Los Angeles, Cultural Assets Press, 1961. 56 pp. $1.25) by Charles F. Lummis. In this brief work, Lummis, one of the Southwest's most colorful personalities, tells of his rebellious and spiritual rejection, and of his ultimate victory from a seige of paralysis.

In *Union Army Operations in the Southwest: Final Victory. From the Official Records* (Albuquerque, Horn & Wallace, 1961. 152 pp. $7.50) the editors and publishers have rendered a remarkable service in assembling materials relating to New Mexico from the 130-volume compilation of official records of the Union and Confederate armies. All documents and maps have been arranged chronologically and are now available in this unique publication. Differing from the first volume, *Confederate Victories in the Southwest: Prelude to Defeat* (1961), which was published without an index, this second volume is particularly valuable as the Index therein covers material in both the Confederate and Union army editions. Of material importance is the inclusion of Brevet Captain George H. Pettis' report, "The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona," with supplementary footnotes.

There are biographies, "mug books," and scores of county histories; and then there are biographies of institutions, pleasant and unpleasant. Kenneth Lamott's *Chronicles of San Quentin, the Biography of a Prison* (New York, David McKay Company, 1961. 278 pp. $4.95) is unique and certainly different. Lamott taught in the prison and soon began the task of bringing together tales, bizarre yet true, of San Quentin's past. His book stands as an indictment of Man's inhumanity toward Man, and presents penal institutions as a particularly ugly blotch upon the terrain.

Here is a paper-back reissue of a delightful bit of well-researched restrospecting. John Anderson Miller's *Fares, Please! A Popular History of Trolleys, Horsecars, Buses, Elevateds, and Subways* (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 204 pp. $1.50) unfolds the colorful history of local transportation industry in the United States from 1827 to 1940. Lovers of railroads will snatch up this informative publication and will find an extra bonus in the selective photographs and illustrations.

Mountain men, those fearless trail breakers and searchers of "elbow-room aplenty," found their match and model in the person of one Bill Williams. The reissue of the 1936 edition of Alpheus H. Favour's *Old Bill Williams: Mountain Man* (Norman, University of Oklahoma. 234 pp. $4.00), which is the first full-length biography on Williams, holds much of the color, verve, and excitement of the period.

Blackfeet and Buffalo: Memories of a Life Among the Indians, written by James Willard Schultz *(Apikuni)* and edited by Keith C. Seele (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 384 pp. $5.95), fills a long neglected need in being reissued at this time. Schultz's memories of the many years shared with the Blackfeet have been arranged posthumously by his wife. Of especial interest in this work are pages devoted to exploratory trips with George Bird Grinnell, the Baring Brothers, and Ralph Pulitzer. *Apikuni* (Schultz's Indian name) may appear biased or overly dramatic in his presentation of legends and experiences narrated to him by his close friends and relatives; but in the final evaluation his presentation appears justified, particularly in the chapters dealing with the passing of the buffalo, the Baker Massacre of 1870, and the starvation winters of 1883-1884.

Riverman, Desertman: Recollections of Camiel Dekens as told to Tom Patterson (Riverside, Press-Enterprise Company, 1962. 111 pp. $1.50) deserves a definite place with those works concerned with the development of a part of the great Colorado Desert. Encompassing the years 1907 to the present, the volume depicts the townsites of Glamis, Blythe, Rice, Ripley, Calzona, and Parker in the Palo Verde Valley. Rough and unglamorous as Dekens' life might have been, the story is enriched by the pithy vernacular of a man who shared in the rough frontier days before the development of the Palo Verde area. Patterson is to be commended for his foresight in bringing together these recollections of a sincere, yet roughly hewn, individual as Camiel Dekens. Only through such works can truer and clearer prespective be gained of these little known and often neglected areas of the West.

Edwin Corle's *Death Valley and the Creek Called Furnace,* containing photographs by Ansel Adams and a foreword by Lawrence Clark Powell (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962. 60 pages text, 32 photographs. $7.50), is indeed one of the more beautifully planned publications of selected materials. Ward Ritchie has again demonstrated his feel for good design and balance in bringing together these two artistic efforts.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Manuel P. Servín

BOOKS

Anderson, Albert T., and Bernice P. Biggs. *A Focus on Rebellion* [The San Francisco City Hall "Demonstration" or "Riot"]. San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1962. $2.15

Beebe, Lucius, and Charles Clegg. *Rio Grande: Mainline of the Rockies.* Berkeley, Howell-North, 1962. $10.00

Blackburn, Fred. *William Brown Ide: Bear Flagger.* San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1962. $12.50

Carpenter, Frederick J. *Robinson Jeffers.* New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1962. $3.50

Clay, John. *My Life on the Range.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. $5.95

Cook, Sherburne Friend. *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. $1.50

Cornett, Frank M. *Recollections of a Pioneer Cowboy (A True Story).* Simi, California [available at Dawson's Book Shop], 1962. $1.50

Deuel, Pauline B. *Mexican Serenade: The Story of the Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre.* Claremont, California, Padua Institute, 1961. $1.85

Dorsey, George. *Christopher of San Francisco.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1962. $5.00

Duffy, Clinton T. *88 Men and 2 Women.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1962. $4.50

Einstein, Charles. *A Flag for San Francisco.* New York, Simon & Schuster, 1962. $4.50

Gerhard, Peter, and Howard E. Gulick. *Lower California Guidebook: A Descriptive Traveler's Guide.* Third edition, revised and enlarged. Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1962. $6.50

Harrington, R. E. *Souvenirs of the Palm Springs Area.* N.p. [available at Dawson's Book Shop], 1962. $3.00

Knight, Emily M., *et al. Historic Chronology of San Bernardino County.* San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1962. $1.00

McComas, J. Francis. *The Graveside Companion: An Anthology of California Murders.* New York, Ivan Obolensky, 1962. $4.50

Morrison, Lorrin L. *Warner, The Man and the Ranch.* Los Angeles, Lorrin L. Morrison Printing and Publishing, 1962. $2.00

Nevins, Allan. *Frémont, Pathmaker of the West.* New York, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962. 2 vols. $14.00

O'Brien, Robert. *This Is San Francisco.* New York, Nourse Publishing Co., 1962. $5.95

Potter, David M. *Trail to California.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1962. $1.65

Report on a Preliminary Plan for Scenic Highways. Sacramento, California Department of Public Works, 1962. Apply

Robinson, Richard J., and Joseph F. Ferris, Jr. *Early Days in Los Angeles.* New York, Noble and Noble Publishers, Inc., 1962. $2.45

Rockwell, Mabel M. *California's Sea Frontier. Part I: The Channel Coast.* Santa Barbara, McNally and Loftin, 1962. $1.50

Sparks, David S. *Henry Wager Halleck (Class of 1836).* Schenectady, Union College, 1962. Apply

Stegner, Wallace Earle. *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962. $2.45

Tompkins, Walker A. *Santa Barbara Yesterdays.* Santa Barbara, McNally and Loftin, 1962. $1.75

White, Gerald T. *Formative Years in the Far West: A History of Standard Oil Company of California and Predecessors Through 1919.* New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. $7.50

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In Memoriam

Louis E. Goodman

Engraved in the annals of the United States District Court are all of the facts of the life and career of its loved and respected late Chief Judge, Louis E. Goodman.

It is recorded there that he was born in Lemoore, California, January 2, 1892; that he was educated in the public schools of San Francisco, at the University of California, and Hastings College of Law; that he passed the bar and was admitted to practice in 1915, thereafter entering a long and successful partnership with Louis H. Brownstone; that, in 1917, he entered into an even longer and more felicitous union with Carolyn V. Nathan, and of this union was born a child, Lorraine Constance; that he was appointed to the federal bench by President Roosevelt in November of 1942, sat during crucial trials, made memorable decisions, in time became Chief Judge, and at last, as all men must, he died....

But it was not this stark framework of facts that was dwelt upon by his elegists; rather, it was the rare tapestry of the full and varicolored life woven around the fact-frame that they recalled.

Thus, in the course of his eulogy of his late friend and fellow jurist, Louis Goodman, before a court crowded with saddened associates and mournful men of all degrees, Chief Judge John Biggs, Third United States Circuit, sounded as it were in passing, an intimate and illuminating note. He touched briefly on Louis' love of books, rare books, and of the delight he had taken in rich and beautiful bindings. Implicit in this reference, though unspoken, was the great truth that Louis Goodman loved even more the wealth and beauty, joy and sadness, of the accumulated experience and distilled wisdom of the human race that was compressed within those splendid covers.

Wide-ranging and comprehensive as the law may be, the mind of a lawyer and, more so, of a judge is quite often formed by and confined within its limits. Yet the true measure of a man's culture must look to more than learning and technical brilliance in his profession; it must also include the width and depth of his absorption of the humanities.

At the time of Chief Judge Louis Goodman's passing it was said over and again in the press, and by spokesmen for his profession at the memorial in our courtroom, that Louis Goodman was an outstanding lawyer and a distinguished jurist. But long after that fact has been forgotten by all but other lawyers and jurists who will ponder the cases he heard and his far-reaching and luminous decisions, Louis Goodman will be remembered widely for his gentleness and his gentility, his forthright integrity, his unfailing charity, his all-encompassing humanity.

Human-humane-humanitarian: These words leap into life in the mind when remembering this good man, this excellent human being....

And I dare to suggest, even in this age of ever-narrowing specialization, that it was the coursing of his subtle intellect over the unbounded fields of the humanities in the books he loved so well that enhanced in this gentle man all the basic goodness of his nature.

Even so, some months after his death, my feeling of utter loss remains keen and poignant . . . for something of rare value was taken from us when Louis Goodman passed away: a completely good man.

Truly, he was well named.

George B. Harris

James E. McConnell

Dr. James Edward McConnell, whose interest and efforts were major factors in the establishment and development of Columbia State Park, died at Sonora, California, December 24, 1961. His sudden death at the age of sixty-one terminated a distinguished career in dentistry and public service.

Born in Superior, Wisconsin, Dr. McConnell came to California as a boy. He attended Sacramento High School and was graduated in dentistry by the California College of Physicians and Surgeons, San Francisco, in 1924, establishing a practice in Sonora that same year. His professional activities included the presidency of the San Joaquin District Dental Association, teaching at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, volunteer service in the county's dental welfare program for children, and membership on the California State Dental Association's legislative committee.

In 1940 Dr. and Mrs. McConnell moved their residence from Sonora to nearby Columbia, buying one of the old gold-rush town's most charming buildings, a frame house dating back to the early 1860's. Their interest in restoring their home with period accuracy went hand in hand with their interest in preserving the town itself, which had been recommended for inclusion in the state park system as early as 1929. Seizing the threatened destruction of some of the old buildings as an opportunity to reawaken interest in the project, Dr. McConnell laid the groundwork for the legislation which, on July 15, 1945, brought Columbia the legendary long coveted honor of being capital of the state of California. On that day Governor Earl Warren declared it "capital for a day," journeying there from Sacramento to sign the bill creating Columbia State Park. Dr. and Mrs. McConnell's home became the capitol building for the occasion.

In the efforts that preceded this event and the following campaign for private funds to match the state's appropriation, Dr. McConnell sought the aid of two prominent members of the California Historical Society, the late William Cavalier, then president, and the Honorable Joseph R. Knowland. Both gave their enthusiastic support, Mr. Cavalier serving as first president of the Columbia Historic Park Association. At their proposal, Dr. McConnell became a member of the California Historical Society in 1945. Following Mr. Cavalier's death, Dr. McConnell became president of the Columbia Historic Park Association.

In 1949 Dr. McConnell, midway in a nine-year membership on the board of directors of the California State Fair and Exposition, supplied and executed many of the ideas that made that year's gold-rush centennial fair an outstanding success. He also headed the State Chamber of Commerce gold-rush centennial celebration committee and that of Tuolumne County.

In addition to these activities, Dr. McConnell found time to serve as Tuolumne County inheritance tax appraiser, county director of the Small Business Corporation, county chairman for the sale of United States Savings Bonds, county chairman of the Red Cross, district governor of the Lions Club, member of the county planning commission, and chairman of the Tuolumne County Republican Central Committee.

Dr. McConnell was a man of gentleness, dignity, and quiet humor. A particularly appropriate gesture in his memory was the lowering of the United States flag over the Columbia State Park fire station next to his home on the day of his funeral.

Surviving are Dr. McConnell's wife, Geraldine Bowers McConnell, a daughter Margaret, Mrs. John Sweeley of Ukiah, and two granddaughters.

RUTH TEISER

WILLIAM H. GORRILL

William H. Gorrill was born in Oakland in 1872. He died in Berkeley Hospital on December 20, 1961, aged eighty-nine. His father, William Henry Gorrill, came to California from Ohio in 1870 and was the organizer of the Pacific Bridge Company. The son attended the University of California when it was still a small institution nestled in the Berkeley hills, and was graduated in 1895. He proceeded to Harvard Law School, where he completed his legal education in 1899, and then returned to California, where he was admitted to practice. From 1900 to 1904 he was an assistant professor at the School of Jurisprudence at the University of California in Berkeley. Thereafter, he entered the private practice of law in San Francisco. During most of his career, he was either associated with, or a member of, the pioneer law firm of Cushing and Cushing, from which he retired in 1959. At that time, the firm was known as Cushing, Cullinan, Duniway, and Gorrill.

It was the writer's privilege to be associated with Mr. Gorrill in the practice of law for nearly twenty years. He was the kindest and most considerate of men: one to whom the term gentleman is peculiarly appropriate. His particular interests in the law were in the fields of corporations and of estate practice, and he was the principal author of the new California Corporation Law which was enacted in 1931. This is the predecessor of the present California Corporation Code of 1947, and his work did much to modernize the California law on corporations. He had a remarkable ability to dissect and get to the essentials of a legal problem—an ability which was of great assistance to the young men who were associated with him and who, I am afraid, sometimes took advantage of his generosity in holding lengthy discussions with him about problems with which they were confronted.

Mr. Gorrill was a member of the State Bar of California, the Bar Association of San Francisco, and the American Bar Association. He was active in many community affairs, including the Commonwealth Club of California, the Harvard Law Club, the Faculty Club of the University of California, and the Sierra Club. As an undergraduate, he became a member of Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and throughout his life he maintained an active interest in the affairs of the California chapter. He was also a member of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific and a trustee of the Pacific Unitarian School for Ministers, now the Starr King School, for more than thirty-four years. He was always interested in the history of California and was an honorary member of the Society of California Pioneers and a member of the California Historical Society for more than twenty years. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Katharine Bunnell Gorrill, a daughter Marion Gorrill, both of whom reside in Berkeley, and a son William Sterling Gorrill, of New York.

In his passing, California has lost a good and useful citizen, and many people in the Bay area and throughout California have lost an old and valued friend. They will long remember his keen interest in every problem with which he came in contact, his genuine friendliness, and his kindly sense of humor.

Ben C. Duniway

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Mayor Samuel W. Yorty, of Los Angeles, meets with various members of the Committee for the Preservation of the History of Los Angeles at the Society's Members' Meeting at El Alisal on May 7, 1962. *Left to right:* Julián Nava, Mayor Yorty, Mrs. Anna Marie Hager, Manuel P. Servín, William W. Robinson, and Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

DRAKE LANDED

IN

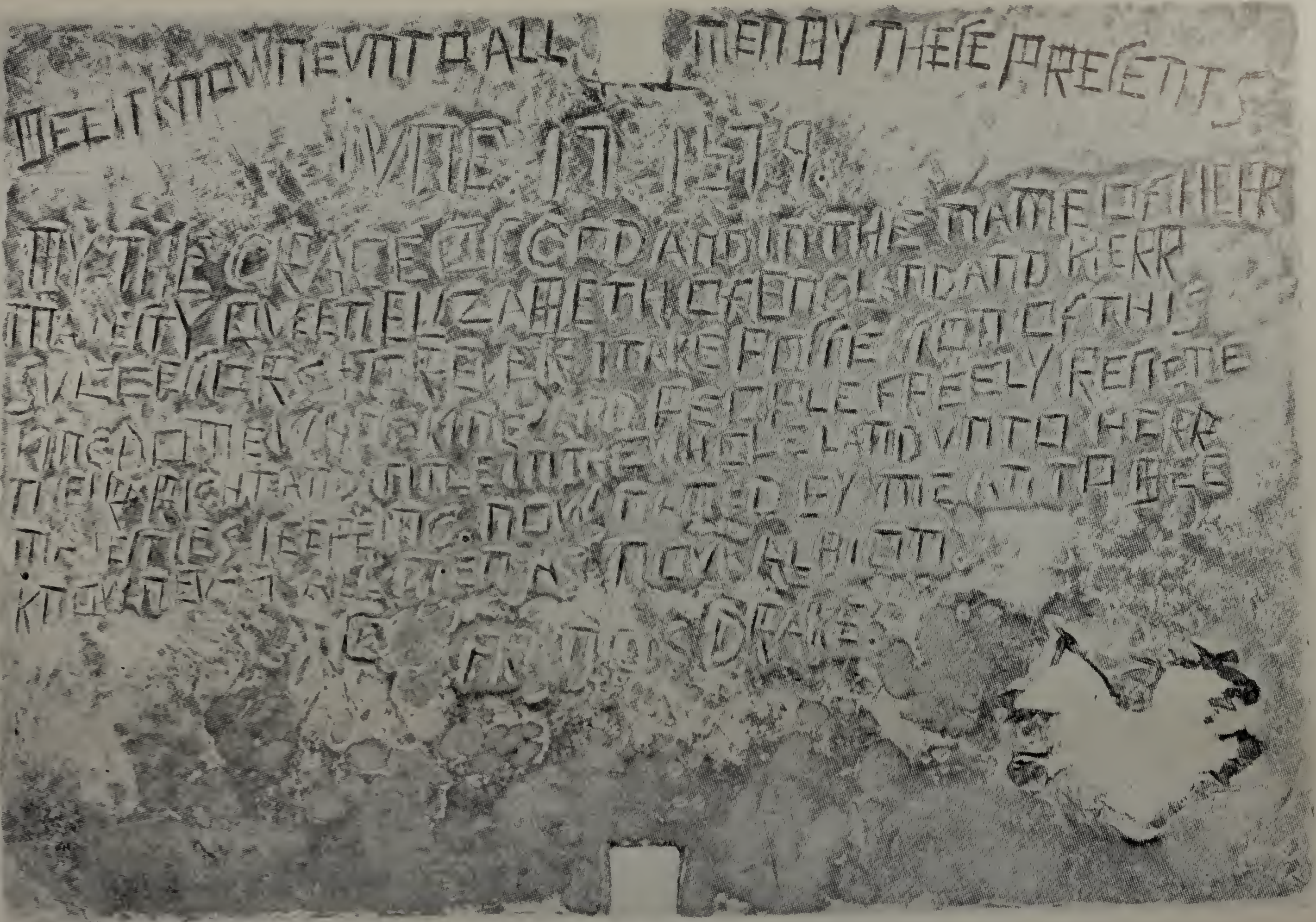
SAN FRANCISCO BAY IN 1579

The Testimony of the

PLATE OF BRASS

By

WALTER A. STARR


BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS
IVNE 17 1579
BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
SVCCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
MAIESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.
FRANCIS DRAKE

The Plate of Brass. The original is now on display in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

INTRODUCTION

Sir Francis Drake's Plate of Brass was found accidentally by Beryle Shinn in 1936, identified by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California in 1937, acquired by the California Historical Society and presented to the University soon thereafter, authenticated as genuine in 1938 after careful investigation by Dr. Colin G. Fink, Columbia University, and E. P. Polushkin, Consulting Metallurgical Engineer.

During the many years preceding this discovery the location of Drake's *Portus,* his landing place in California, was a guessing game indulged in by many navigators and historians.

Drake's official narrative, maps and logbook, describing his voyage around the world in his one hundred ton ship, *Golden Hinde,* have been lost, although known to have been delivered to Queen Elizabeth. There were several reasons why she should have considered this to be information to be kept secret. England was then at peace with Spain and knowledge of Drake's piratical attacks on Spanish ports in New Spain and on Spanish commerce at sea as he sailed north up the Pacific Coast would have enraged her brother-in-law, Spanish King Philip II. The dividing up of the enormous treasure that Drake brought home had to be secretly done. Another reason was that Drake had taken possession of the territory adjacent to his landing place in California, *Nova Albion,* and the Queen wished to keep information about the area away from her rival, the Spanish King.

The first authentic narration of the voyage was in the 1598-1600 edition of Hakluyt's *Famous Voyage.* Two previous works by Hakluyt published in 1582 and 1589 dealing with various British voyages and discoveries did not mention the *Famous Voyage* of Drake except that in some books of the 1589 edition six unnumbered pages were inserted dealing only with the account of Drake's voyage after leaving New Spain. These omissions can only be explained by assuming that they were made by order of Queen Elizabeth.

In 1628 Drake's nephew, also named Francis Drake, published *The World Encompassed.* Its title page credits the source of its information to "notes of Master Francis Fletcher and divers others." Fletcher was the ship chaplain of the *Golden Hinde.* The similarity of much of the description to that found in the *Famous Voyage* leads one to believe that Hakluyt was one of the "divers others."

In both narratives the description of the harbor in which Drake made his California landing is brief, but they corroborate each other. So they do in describing how Drake set up a monument with a firm post to which was nailed an engraved plate taking possession of the land, called

Nova Albion, in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The following is from *The World Encompassed:* "Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set up a monument of our being there: as also of her maiesties, and successors right and title to that Kingdom, namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engraven her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arrivall there, and of the free giving up, of the province and kingdome, both by the King and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highness picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate: underneath was likewise engraven the name of our Generall, etc."

It will be demonstrated in the following pages that the EVIDENCE OF THE PLATE OF BRASS, when considered in the light of its discovery, leads inevitably to the conclusion that Francis Drake sailed his ship through the Golden Gate and landed on the shore below the hill on which the plate was found over three hundred and fifty years later.

WALTER A. STARR

San Francisco, California
May 1962

Where History Was Etched on Brass

Beryle Shinn (right) points out to Dr. Herbert Bolton the location where he found the priceless bit of brass in the center; brass on which Sir Francis Drake etched a blazing chapter of conquest almost 358 years ago. His chance discover netted Shinn $3500.

BERYLE SHINN'S STORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE PLATE

The picture shown above, published in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of April 7, 1937, was taken at the meeting of the California Historical Society held in San Francisco April 6, 1937, to report on the discovery of the Drake Plate. Beryle Shinn, the discoverer of the plate, is shown pointing out the rock outcrop which marked the discovery site to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California and other members of the Historical Society, while its President, Allen L. Chickering, holds the Drake Plate against the enlargement of a photograph taken from the site of discovery by Walter A. Starr (see Plate No. 1, page 6), while being viewed by Mr. Chickering and Mrs. Starr. The discovery was referred to as one "of romantic chance," and was described as follows:

Accidental Discovery

"Nearly a year ago Beryle Shinn, 26, of 5112 Bond Street, Oakland, was riding on the highway near San Rafael. He had a blowout, and before he left, after fixing the tire, he walked up on a rocky hill overlooking the bay. Idly, he picked up rocks and tossed them down the hill. As he pulled one heavy rock from the soil he saw the edge of a metal plate, and pulled it free from the ground. Shinn had a sprung door on his car, and he thought the plate was just about the right size to fix it. He tossed it carelessly in the back of his car."

The above description of the discovery was later confirmed more in detail by the signed statement of Beryle Shinn contained in the California Historical Society *Quarterly* of March, 1957, as recorded below.

EVIDENCE OF THE VISIT OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO CALIFORNIA IN THE YEAR 1579

How the Plate of Brass Was Found

A signed statement by Beryle Shinn

In the summer of 1936 I was travelling south on highway 101 from San Rafael and when coming down the ridge approaching Greenbrae one of my tires was punctured. Veering to the side of the road I stopped my car. On the ridge above was a likely picnic spot. I climbed under a barbed wire fence and climbed to the top of the ridge. There an extensive view presented itself. To the east was Point San Quentin and upper San Francisco Bay bounded on the southwest by the Tiburon peninsula. Below was the tidal estuary of Corte Madera Creek. Approaching an outcrop of rock near the top of the ridge I picked up rocks and rolled them down the hill. As I pulled a rock from the soil I saw the edge of a metal plate which was partly covered by the rock. When I pulled the plate free from the ground I noticed that it was about the size to repair the frame of my automobile. So when I returned to my car I took it along and tossed it in. Several months later I thought of repairing the frame. While handling the plate I noticed that it seemed to have some inscription on it. I scrubbed it with a brush and soap and noted a date, 1579, near the top of the plate. This interested me, so I showed it to a few of my friends, but none could make out what it was until one, a college student, deciphered the word Drake and suggested that the metal plate be shown to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. This was done and Dr. Bolton discovered that it was Sir Francis Drake's Plate of Brass.

(Signed) Beryle Shinn

When I asked Mr. Shinn if he thought anyone could have deciphered the letters or figures on the plate before he scrubbed it with the brush he replied that he was sure they could not have done so.

On February 28, 1937, Dr. Bolton and Allen L. Chickering, then president of the California Historical Society, went with Shinn to Marin County where he led them to the spot on the ridge where he had found Drake's Plate of Brass. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Starr and I returned to the site with Mr. Chickering to take photographs of the place of discovery and views from the location. Francis P. Farquhar also took similar photographs a few days later. The outcrop of rock shown in the pictures was identified by Shinn as the place below which he found the plate.

It must be realized that at the time of Drake's landing San Quentin Bay had not been so silted up. The shore line extended along the natural contour of the bay below the ridge. All the coves and inlets of San Francisco Bay have been more or less filled up with silt, creating mud flats or marshes, by the winter and spring run-off of the Sacramento and other rivers, bringing down into the bay a large volume of silt due to plowing of the land and earlier due to hydraulic placer mining. I have witnessed much of this during my lifetime.

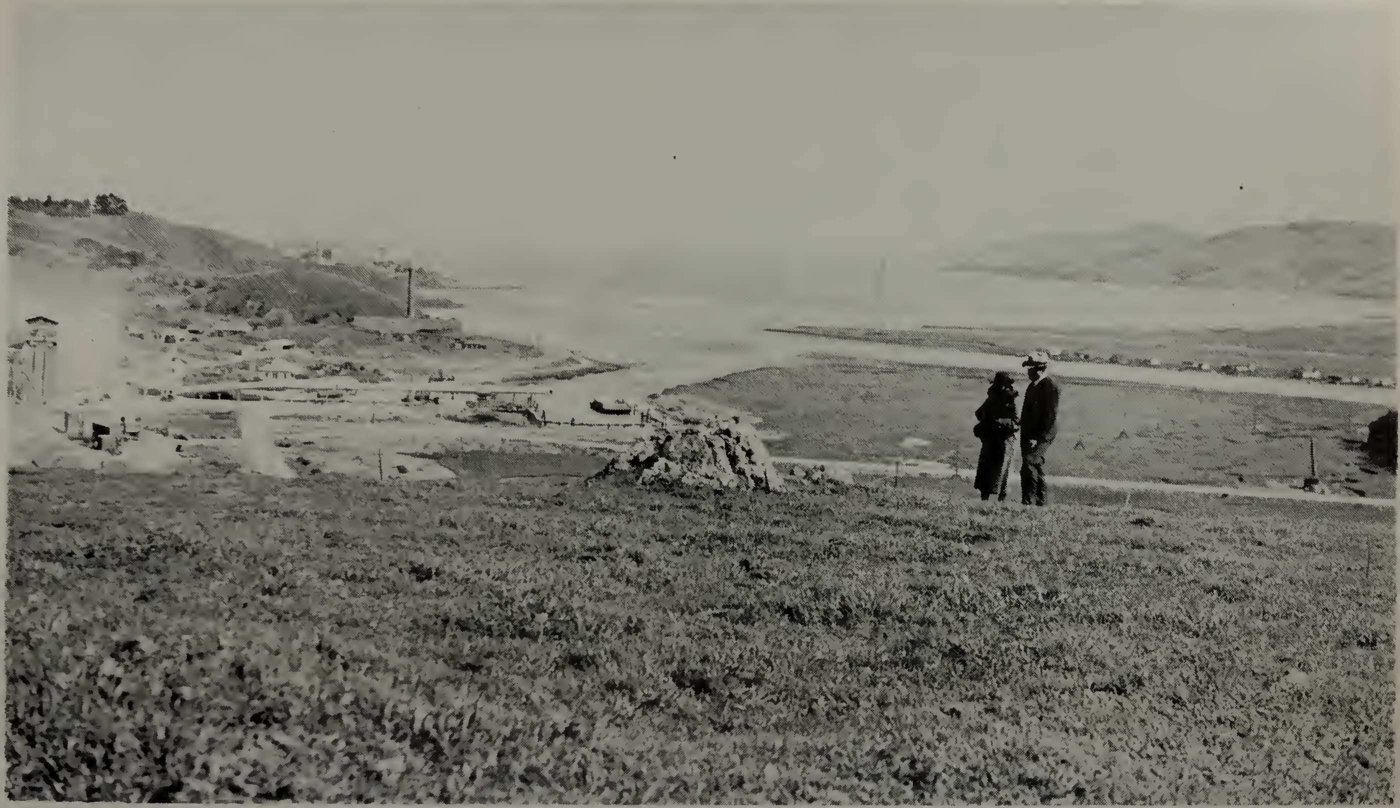


Plate No. 1 Looking East over San Quentin Bay. Beryle Shinn found Drake's Plate of Brass below the far side of the outcrop embedded in the ground and partly overlaid by a rock, evidence that it had been where found for a long time.

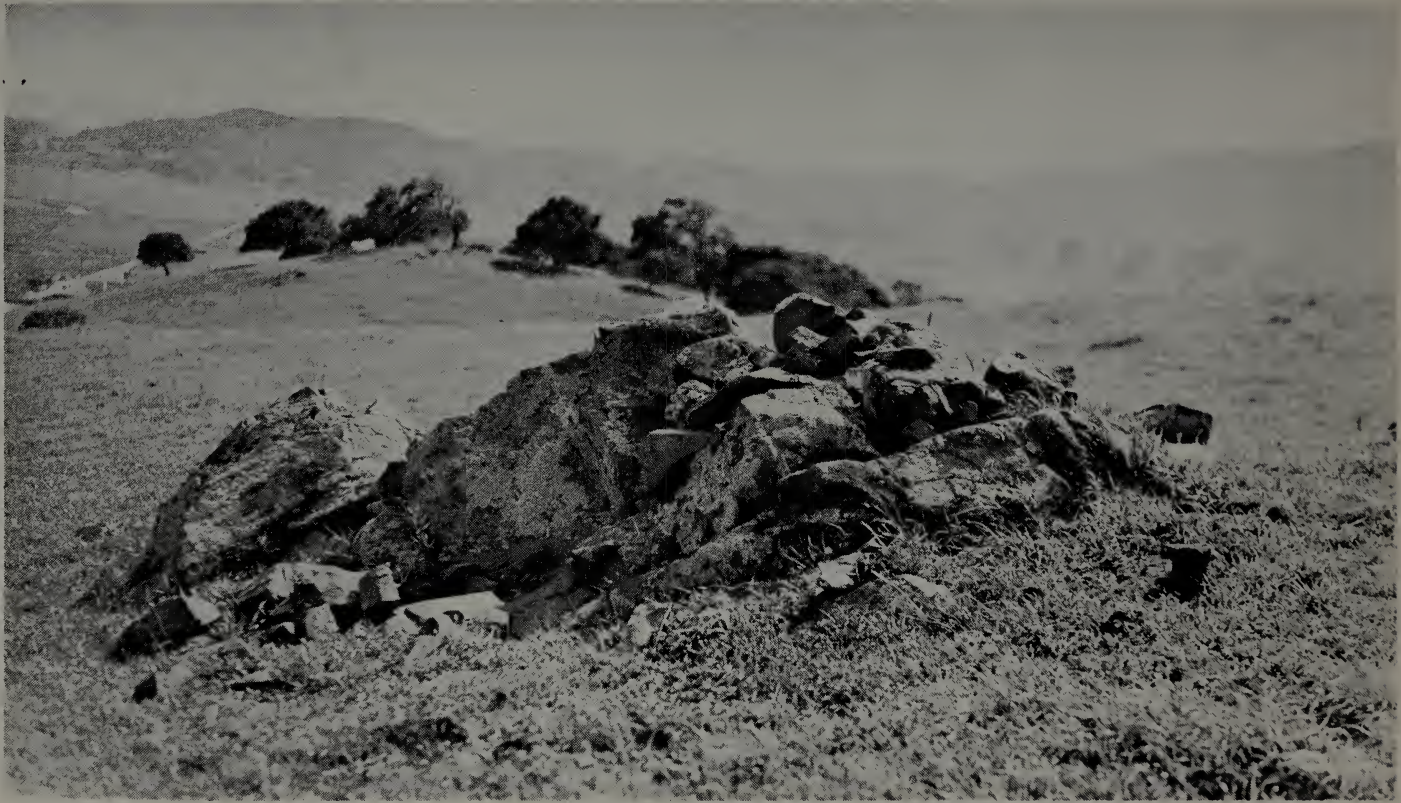


Plate No. 2 Looking South over the same outcrop of rock below the face of which Beryle Shinn found Drake's Plate of Brass embedded in the ground. The loose rocks on the outcrop and below its face are a different kind of rock than the outcrop itself and were evidently carried there from a hillside nearby for a purpose.

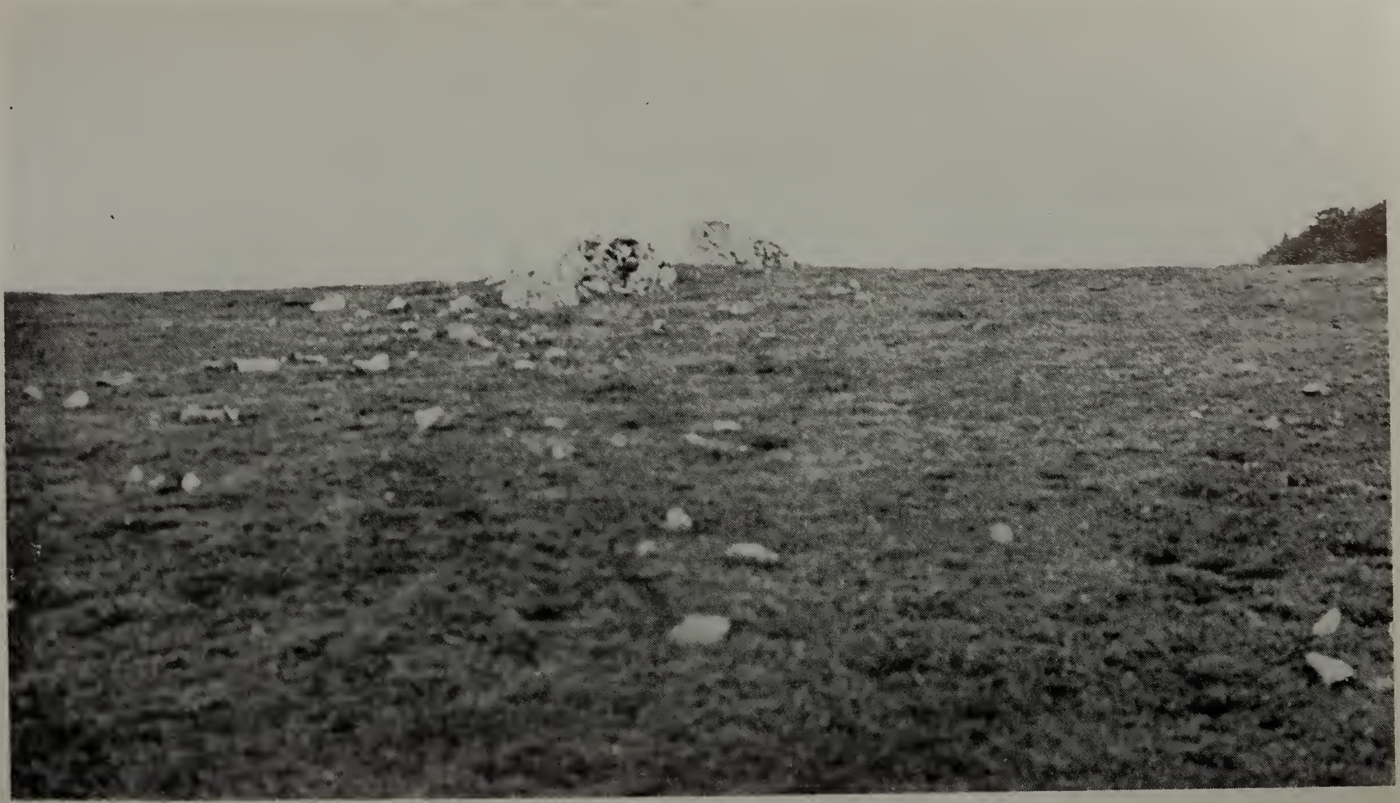


Plate No. 3 Looking West uphill to the same outcrop, and to another beyond. The scattered rocks on the hillside below the nearest outcrop in an area otherwise clear of loose rocks, are evidently the remains of the monument built against its face which held up the "firme post." Many other loose rocks had been rolled down the hill. Beryle Shinn was so engaged when he discovered the Plate of Brass.

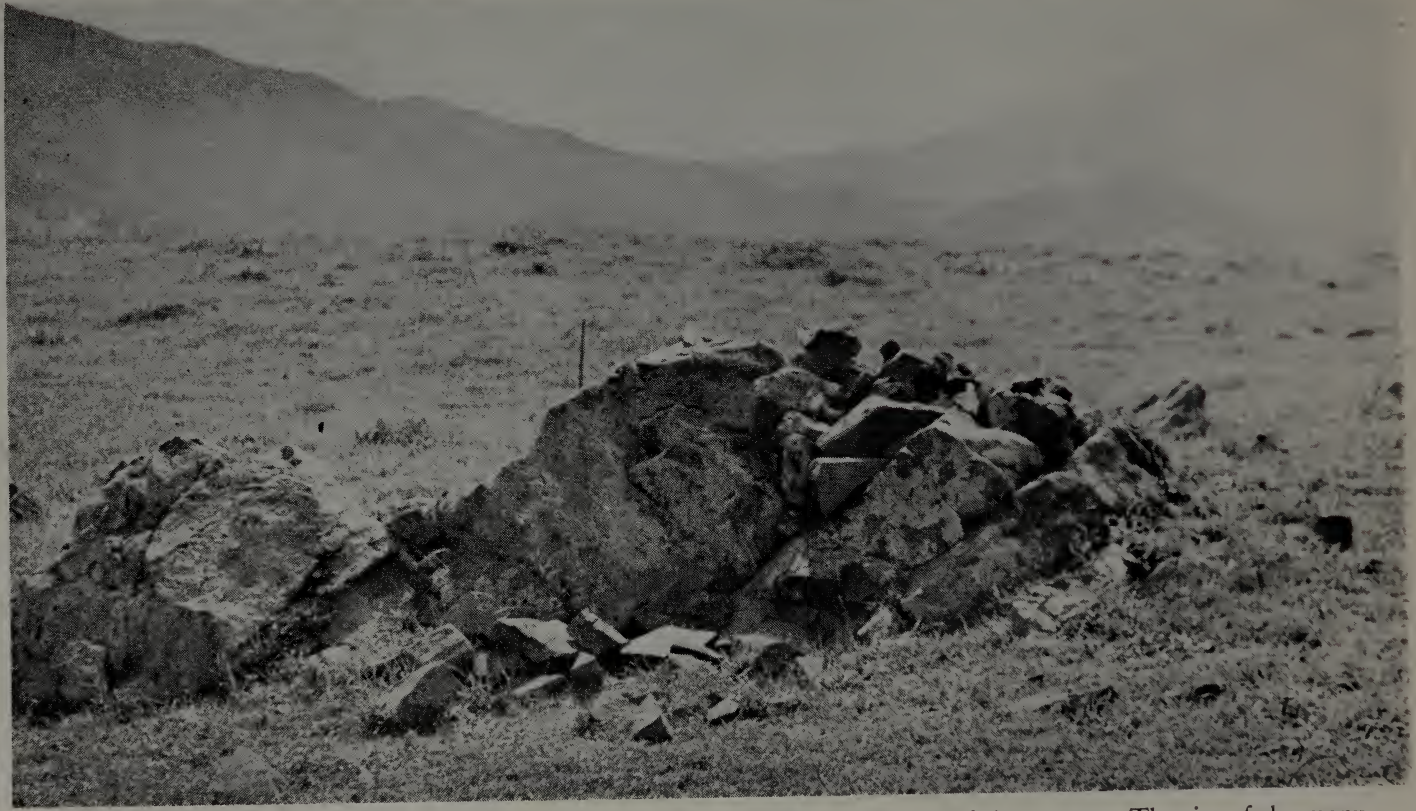


Plate No. 4 Looking Southwest, toward Mt. Tamalpais and its ridge, at the face of the outcrop. The site of the monument, as these pictures reveal, commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country of *Nova Albion.*

DRAKE'S CALIFORNIA LANDING

Interpretations of excerpts from *The Famous Voyage* and *The World Encompassed*

After complaining of the extreme cold suffered by Drake's men, which increased as they sailed northward, Hakluyt's description of Drake's Portus reads, "Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land etc., so that we drew back again without landing till we came within 38° toward the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good Baye with a good wind to enter the same." This is a perfect description of an entrance into San Francisco Bay.

Hakluyt goes on to say, "Our General called this country, Nova Albion and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our country in name, which sometime was so called."

The World Encompassed makes the same comment. It is obvious that the wording "which lie toward the sea" refers to the white cliffs from an interior location back from the Coast which were seen as Drake came south along the Coast and into the entrance to San Francisco Bay past Fort Point.

The narrative in *The World Encompassed* reads: "In 38° 30′ we fell with a convenient and fit harborough June 17 and came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23rd day of July following."

"The next day after our coming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselves; sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spoke to us continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: using in the deliverie thereof, many gestures and signes, moving his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reverence and submission, returned back to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the thid time."

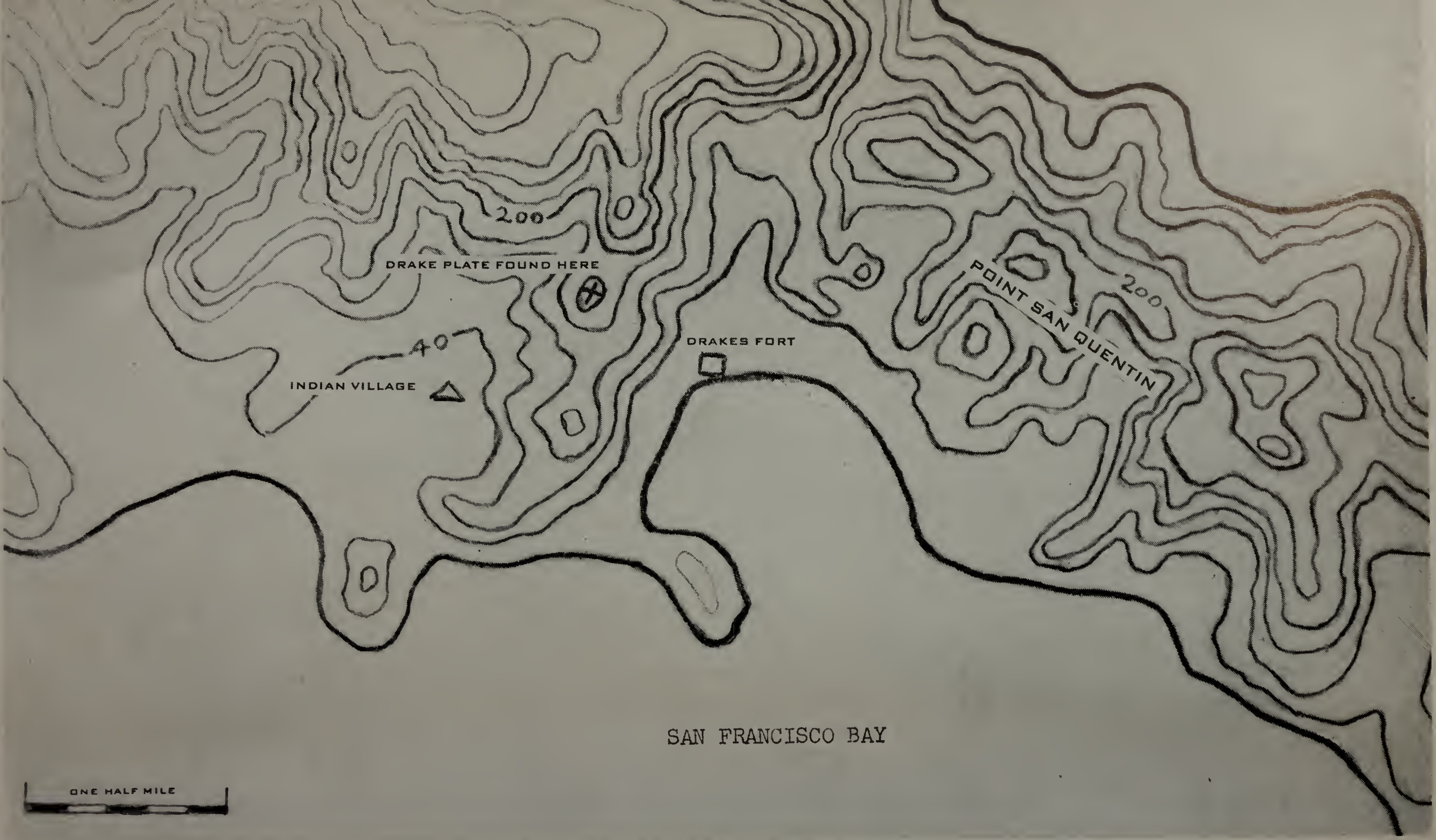
"The 3. day following, viz. the 21. our ship having received a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that her goods being landed, she might be repaird: but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of ourselves and goods: and that wee might under the shelter of it, with more safety (what ever should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had they came downe unto us; and yet with no hostile meaning, or intent to hurt us: standing when they drew neere, as men ravished in their mindes, with sight of such things as they never had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship us as Gods, then to have any warre with us as with mortall men. . . . Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remove the opinion, which they had conceived of us, that we should be Gods." . . .

"As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping & crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort, that in the place where they left us (being neere about 3-quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration did heare the same: the women especially, extending their voices, in a most miserable and doleful manner of shreeking."

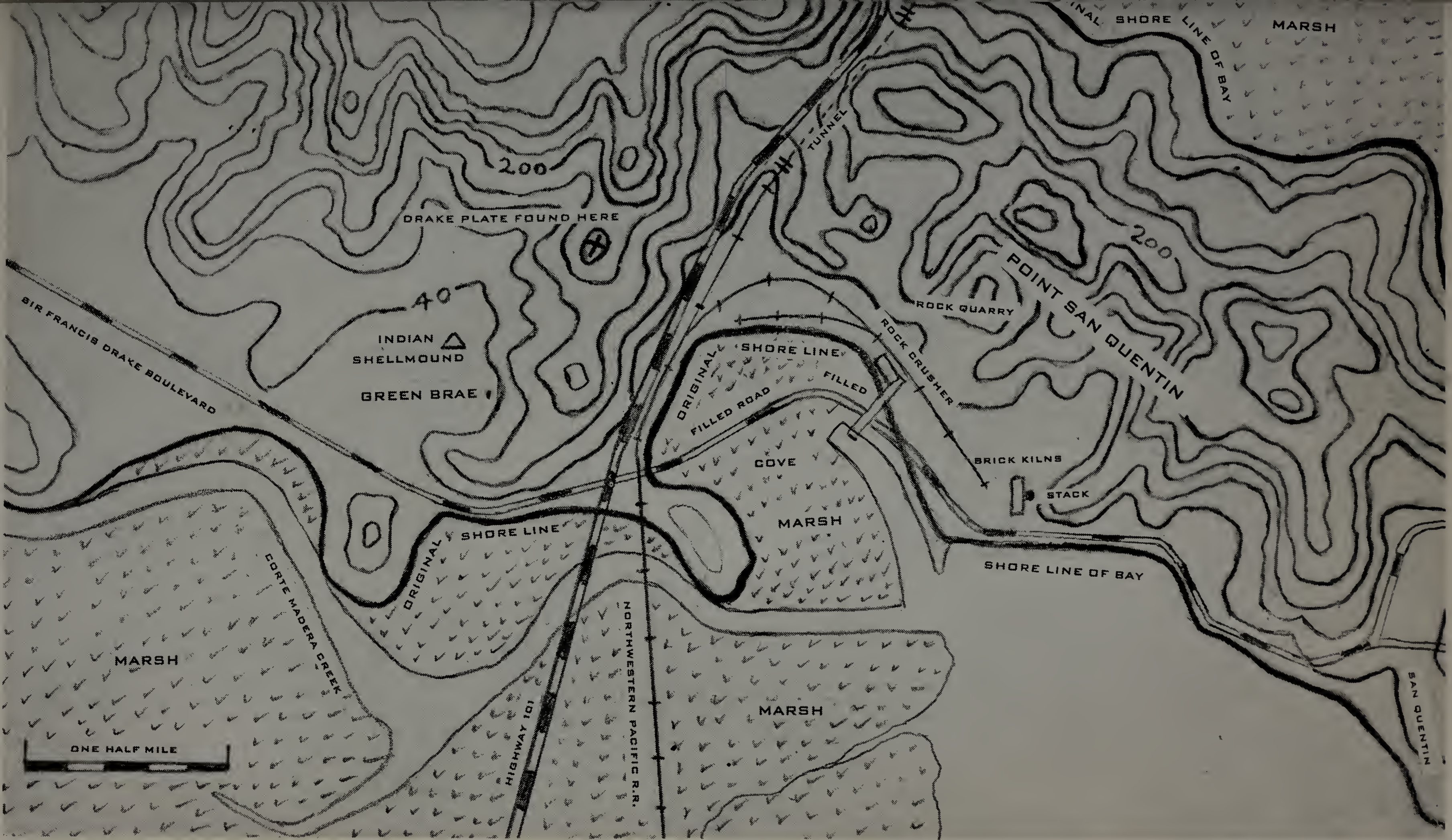
"Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour used toward us, we thought it no wisdome too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with us before, made us carefull to provide against an alteration of their affections, or breach of peace if it should happen) and therefore with all expedition we set up our tents, and entrenched ourselves with walls of stone: that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keepe off the enemie (if they should so prove) from coming amongst us without our good wills: this quickly finished we went the more cheerefully and securely about our other businesse."

"Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with us) there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (invited by the report of them which first saw us, who as it seemes, had in that time, of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes) who came the second time unto us, bringing with them as before had been done, feathers and bagges of Tobàh for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon this perswasion that we were Gods."

"When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottome whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appinted as their


200
DRAKE PLATE FOUND HERE
200
POINT SAN QUENTIN
40
INDIAN VILLAGE
DRAKES FORT
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
ONE HALF MILE

Map No. 1 Contour map of a portion of Point San Quentin on the Western side of Northern San Francisco Bay as it would have looked when Sir Francis Drake made his California landing in 1579. The story told in *The World Encompassed* revealed in this pamphlet points to the cove on its Southern shore as his landing place. Since that time the coves and areas of slack water in the bay have become marsh land by being filled with mud and sediment washed down from the moun-


MARSH
SHORE LINE OF BAY
NAL
TUNNEL
200
200
DRAKE PLATE FOUND HERE
POINT SAN QUENTIN
ROCK QUARRY
40
INDIAN
SHELLMOUND
GREEN BRAE
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE BOULEVARD
ORIGINAL SHORE LINE
FILLED
ROCK CRUSHER
FILLED ROAD
COVE
BRICK KILNS
STACK
MARSH
SHORE LINE OF BAY
ORIGINAL SHORE LINE
CORTE MADERA CREEK
MARSH
NORTHWESTERN PACIFIC R.R.
HIGHWAY 101
MARSH
ONE HALF MILE
SAN QUENTIN

Map No. 2 A map of the same area as it was in 1937, one year after Beryle Shinn found Drake's Plate of Brass on the top of a ridge in Green Brae, Marin County, (marked x) embedded in the soil below a rock outcrop which appeared to be the base of a rock monument as evidenced by the loose rock on the outcrop itself and scattered about on the hillside below. Since then the ridge has been subdivided and is now occupied by homes, and the marsh land in that part of the cove north of the San Quentin Road has been filled with crushed rock.

chiefe speaker) wearied both us his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration: delivered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature, and his words falling so thicke one in the neck of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reverend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed Oh: thereby giving their consents, that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had uttered their minde by his mouth unto us, which done, the men laying downe their bows upon the hill, and leaving their women and children behinde them, came down with their presents; in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God indeed." . . .

"Our General having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them all againe; none carrying with him anything of whatsoever hee had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happie, that they had found so free accesse to see us." . . .

"Against the end of three daies more (the news having the while spread it selfe father, and as it seemed a great way up into the countrie) were assembled the greatest number of people, which wee could reasonably imagine, to dwell within any convenient distance round about. Amonst the rest, the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard, of about 100. tall and warlike men, this day, viz. June 26. came downe to see us." . . .

After describing the appearance and actions of the Indians as they advanced down the hill, the narrative continues: "And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto, observied a kind of measures in a dance: whom the King with his guard and every other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving onely the women who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our General perceiving their plaine and simple meaning, gave order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke" . . .

These quotations paint a picture of the Indians coming from their village, located in what is now Green Brae, over the ridge on which the monument was later set up and on down to Drake's camp and fort, evidently located on the level bench above the shore of the sheltered cove where his ship had been careened and near the foot of the ridge (pg. 12).

The site of the monument, holding up the "firme post" to which the Plate of Brass was nailed, while nearby, occupied a commanding view over the Bay and its surroundings. The pictures on page 7 and 9 suggest that the post was held in place against the perpendicular face of the outcrop by rocks piled against it which made the monument. That the Plate of Brass was not molested but was left to fall when the post rotted can be accounted for by the fact that the Indians considered Drake's men as Gods, hence the monument was taboo.

Both narratives relate that after Drake had repaired his ship he and some of his company "made a journey up into the land, etc. . . . The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country and fruitful soil stored with many blessings for the use of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat deere—besides a multitude of a strange kind of conies by far exceeding them in number—the people eate their bodies and make great account of their skinnes." The detailed description of the "conies," as might be expected, is that of our ground squirrels.

The presence of conies or ground squirrels is an important detail. They were not to be found on the coastal areas such as the terrain back of Drake's Bay, but their warrens were very numerous in the areas adjacent to northern San Francisco Bay, before they were almost exterminated by the state squirrel poisoners. In recent years I have seen a few survivors on the hills west of San Quentin Bay.

Drake's departure from the Portus is described in *The World Encompassed*. "The 23rd of July they tooke a sorroful farewell of us but being loath to leave us, they presently ranne to the tops of the hills to keep us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure." The description fits such a farewell from the hilltops of San Quentin Point and Tiburon peninsula. Indeed, on the Hondius diagram of Drake's Portus is a native burning a sacrificial fire at the end of what would be the Tiburon peninsula.

Continuing the narrative of Drake's departure, the Farallone Islands are referred to: "Not far without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint James) having on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which Wee fell July 24. Whereon we found such provision as might serve our turne for a while: we departed the next day following, viz. July 25 and our General . . . bent his course to run with the *Moluccas*."

THE PLATE OF BRASS AUTHENTICATED

The Report by Colin G. Fink, Ph.D., Head of the Division of Electrochemistry, Columbia University, and E. P. Polushkin, Consulting Metallurgical Engineer, was published by the California Historical Society in 1938.

In the introduction Allen L. Chickering, then President of the California Historical Society, states:

"As was to be expected, the announcement of the discovery of the Plate was attended with great interest and some expressions of doubt as to its authenticity.

"Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President of the University of California, accordingly appointed a committee, consisting of Professors Herbert E. Bolton, J. M. Cline and Joel H. Hildebrand, and Mr. Allen L. Chickering, to determine upon and have made such tests as to the authenticity of the Plate as in its judgment seemed proper. At its first meeting the Committee decided unanimously that any tests of the Plate itself should not be made by anyone connected with the University of California on account of the interest of the University in the Plate. It was the Committee's belief that the matter should be submitted only to an expert of the highest quality, not connected with the University of California and entirely impartial. The selection of such an individual was a matter of great difficulty and required much correspondence, study and thought.

"Finally it was decided to refer the matter to Dr. Colin G. Fink, of Columbia University, New York, he being in the opinion of the Committee the best qualified man in the United States to make the investigation. Dr. Fink was indeed fortunate to be able to enlist the services of George R. Harrison, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a recognized expert in spectroscopy. He also had the assistance and collaboration of other eminent scientists, who are mentioned in his report which is printed herewith."

The Report contains the following comments, summary and conclusions:

"It is generally known that the patina of all objects buried in the ground absorbs some chemical constituents from the surrounding minerals."

"From the table (listing chemical elements found by spectrographic analysis of two specimens of patina removed from the plate) it will be noted that there are five elements in the patina: sodium, barium, looron, bismuth and strontium—which are not found in the metal" (of the plate).

"Altogether fourteen elements identified in the plate were also detected in the patina. This constitutes another substantial proof that the patina is not an artificial coating . . . but that the patina had been formed directly on the plate by a patination process."

SUMMARY

"1. There is no doubt whatsoever that the dark coating on the surface of the plate is a natural patina formed slowly over a period of many years.

"2. Numerous surface defects and imperfections usually associated with old brass were found on the plate.

"3. Particles of mineralized plant tissue are firmly imbedded in the surface of the plate. This is likewise a very positive proof of the age of the plate. (This accounts for the carbon found in the patina.)

"4. Cross sections of the brass plate show an excessive amount of impurities . . . these characteristics indicate a brass of old origin.

"5. Among the impurities found in the brass of the plate is magnesium, far in excess of the amount occurring in modern brass.

"6. There are numerous indications that the plate was not made by rolling but was made by hammering, as was the common practice in Drake's time.

CONCLUSIONS

"On the basis of the above six distinct findings, as well as other data herewith recorded, it is our opinion that the brass plate examined by us is the genuine Drake Plate referred to in the book, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, published in 1628."

The Report nullifies all the stories or possibilities that the plate was picked up somewhere else and was dropped at the location where Beryle Shinn has been carelessly reported to have *picked it up*. He did not pick it up. The Report not only verifies his account of its accidental discovery, buried in the soil, but explains why it was necessary that it should have been buried over a long period of time for the patina to form on its surfaces, the analysis of which in turn made it possible to prove the plate genuine.

THE CALDEIRA STORY

Soon after the meeting of the Historical Society on April 6, 1937, when Dr. Bolton made known the finding of Drake's Plate of Brass by Beryle Shinn, William Caldeira, a chauffeur employed by a neighbor, Mr. J. B. Metcalf, told my chauffeur that he thought he had picked up something that looked like the plate, three years before. He had read the report of the meeting in the newspaper giving details of the discovery and a picture of the plate. At that time he was employed by an old friend of mine, Mr. Leon Bocqueraz, of Oakland. Mr. Bocqueraz was a member of the Marin Country Club, a hunting club leasing land bordering on Drake's Bay. On a day in November 1933, as Mr. Bocqueraz told the story to me, Caldeira drove him to a place on Drake's Bay called Laguna Ranch to hunt quail. "While I hunted, Caldeira, as was his usual custom, walked along the shore and near about during the long hours of waiting. If he saw something of interest to him he would pick it up and show it to me when I returned. This was a favorite place for smugglers to come in boats during prohibition days to land liquor on the beach, and many things were scattered about. This day when I returned to the car I said, 'Well Kelly (as I called him) what did you find today?' He said 'I picked this up (showing me a metal plate) where do you think it came from?' I replied it was probably from some ship, but it was almost dark, I couldn't see very well, so I told him to bring it along and show it to me at the club house. When we got there he had evidently forgotten about it and so had I. I was very tired and did not attach much importance to it. A week or so later Kelly was driving me back to the Club. We crossed the ferry from Richmond to San Quentin and then by our usual route by way of San Rafael. He took the plate up saying there was no use to keep it and threw it out of the car." It should be noted that Mr. Bocqueraz was never given an opportunity to examine it. In an interview assigned to the University of California Library, November 9, 1955, given by Mr. Bocqueraz, he said, "After we had crossed the Bay, before reaching San Quentin, he took (he had the plaque in the car all the time) and he threw it away."

According to Caldeiras' story, as it came to me, he had been cleaning out the side pocket on the door of the car as he crossed on the ferry. There he found the metal plate again where he had dropped it in at Drake's Bay. Caldeira is reported to have said he "threw it out of his automobile on the right hand side of the road from San Quentin to Kentfield in the first meadow after one leaves the intersection of the San

Francisco-San Rafael road and the San Quentin-Kentfield road." This is a different road from the one used in Mr. Bocqueraz' account.

After Mrs. Starr reported the Caldeira story to the Historical Society it seemed thereafter to eclipse Beryle Shinn's discovery. Unfortunately, the impression got around that the spot where Caldeira was said to have thrown his metal plate was almost at the spot where Shinn found the Drake plate. Reference is made in the preface of "The Plate of Brass," published by the California Historical Society, to the statement quoted above, but here quotes Caldeira as saying that he "threw it away near the point where Beryle Shinn *picked it up*." The air line distance from the place in the valley where Caldeira said he threw his metal plate away to where Shinn found the Plate of Brass on top of the ridge is a matter of from one-half to one and a half miles depending on which meadow you measured from. The distance from the point near San Quentin, where Mr. Bocqueraz said Caldeira threw out his metal plate immediately after leaving the boat, to the place of discovery is about two miles.

But Beryl Shinn did not "pick up" the plate. Important as evidence are the conditions under which he found the Plate of Brass. His statement says that it was *embedded* in the ground with a rock partly overlaying it. Only by being where it was found for a very long period of time could it have become so embedded. That accounts for the accumulation of the patina on both sides of the plate which guarantees its genuineness. It could not have been recently dropped there. The evidence proves that Shinn's plate of brass had nothing to do with the piece of metal plate picked up by Caldeira. After reading a proof of this pamphlet, a well-known historian wrote me: "You made a fundamental contribution to California history with your careful analysis of William Caldeira's story. Before you did this some very good students of the Drake episode were willing to accept the explanation that this man had carried the Drake plate from the shores of Drake's Bay to the spot where it was found. Now, to assume that still another person found it where Caldeira threw it out of his car and carried it to the place where Shinn discovered it goes beyond the limits of credulity."

THE NAME–DRAKE'S BAY

According to *California Place Names*, edited by Edwin G. Gudde and printed by the University of California Press, the open bay south of Point Reyes, now called Drake's Bay, was first discovered by Rodriguez Cermeño, November 7, 1595, and was named by him "Puerto Y. Bahia de San Francisco." On the Briggs map, 1625, the name "Puerto Saint Francisco Draco" was applied to a port north of Point Reyes apparently to support the English claim to the coast of California. The Arrowsmith map of 1790 applies the name of Sir Francis Drake to the Bay of San Francisco. According to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, historians used to assume as a matter of course that "this convenient and fit harborough," as Drake's chaplain, Francis Fletcher, described their landing place, was San Francisco Bay.

The use of the name Drake's Bay as applied to its present location in recent times is due to the authority of Prof. George Davidson of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. Bancroft's *History of California*, published in 1884, names Davidson as believing that the true landing place of Drake was the Bay of San Francisco. Later Davidson changed his opinion. In 1889 he read a paper before the California Historical Society entitled "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the coast of California in the year 1579," later published in 1890 by the Historical Society. He fixed the location of Drake's landing in the cove formed by the jutting promontory ending in Chimney Rock, on the southeastern side of Point Reyes, known as Jacks Bay, although he could present no evidence to support such an opinion. Since then, until Beryle Shinn found the Plate of Brass on a ridge above the shore line of northern San Francisco Bay, the name has been gradually accepted as applied to Drake's landing place by reason of Davidson's opinion and authority. With such names as Drake's Bay, Drake's Estero and Drake's Beach appearing on the official maps, it is natural for people to assume that they mark the place where Drake landed, not knowing they have no significance. The historian, Henry R. Wagner, disagreed with Davidson's conclusions. He asserted that there was no basis for the arguments advanced by Davidson and that Cermeño's narrative of his voyage and landing, now in the Archives in Seville, which Wagner translated, disposed of any possibility of a Drake visit under Point Reyes. Among other things, although Cermeño's landing was only sixteen years after the Drake landing, he found no evidence of Drake having been there; the natives there had never before seen a white man and contrary to the friendly and worshipful attitude of the natives toward Drake and his men, the natives were hostile and unfriendly. Wagner contended that fifteen years could not have wiped out the memory of Drake's former visit, nor could all evidence of his stay have been destroyed.

Strangely, although Davidson knew the facts about the wreck of Cermeño's ship in the same bay he finally selected as Drake's landing place, he stated: "There can be very little doubt that when the *San Agustin* was stranded on the Farallones and wrecked, and her cargo landed in the vicinity of Drake's anchorage, in 1595, the captain pilot and crew must have learned that Drake's vessel had been there." Then Davidson explains that the Spaniards would wish to destroy all evidence of Drake's landing and his having taken possession of the country. It is impossible to account for Davidson's erroneous statement that Cermeño's ship was wrecked on the Farallones.

Cermeño was followed eight years later by Vizcaino, who came to further explore the coast and seek the remains of Cermeño's ship, the *San Augustin,* and her cargo, blown ashore in a storm onto the beach near the entrance to so-called Drake's Estero while anchored in the bay in 1595. Vizcaino made no mention of Drake in his report. Since then, after much searching, no evidence of a landing by Sir Francis Drake has been discovered on the shores of the bay named for him.

CERMENO'S DISCOVERY OF SO CALLED DRAKE'S BAY IN 1595

The California Historical Society *Quarterly* of April, 1924, Vol. III, No. 1, contains an article with the title: *The Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno in 1595* with notes and a translation by the historian, Henry R. Wagner, of Cermeño's report of his voyage.

Luis de Velasco, who had been appointed Viceroy of New Spain by the King in 1589, arrived at Mexico City the following year. The Philippine Islands as well as Mexico were under his charge. The trade between the Philippines and the west coast of Mexico had become large. The crews of ships sailing east often suffered greatly from shortage of food and sickness by the time they reached the Pacific Coast at whatever place the winds had carried them, which might be as far north as Cape Mendocino. Velasco planned a voyage to explore this coast and locate possible ports where ships could find relief on their way south to Mexico, when necessary.

A Portuguese skilled in navigation, Rodriguez Cermeño, was named chief pilot for this voyage. He sailed from Cavite in the Philippines July 5, 1595, in a small ship of 200 tons burden, the *San Agustin*, and sighted the Pacific Coast November 4 near Cape Mendocino. Sailing south, he anchored in so-called Drake's Bay, offshore from the outlet of Drake's Estero, on November 6, and named it Bahia de San Francisco. He mentions sighting three islands south-southwest of the anchorage (the *Farallones*). Cermeño went ashore the following day and describes his landing as follows:

"In order to see the character of the land and put in hand what was contemplated, namely, the building of a launch to prosecute the discovery, I sent in the ship's boat twenty-two men, seventeen of them armed with arquebuses and three with shields, and the ensign and the sergeant. I went ashore with it and landed on the beach, where I found near by many Indians, men, women and children — who had their dwellings there. These were pits made in the sand and covered with grass, in the manner of the Chichimecos Indians."

"*Declaration:* On the 7th, the day the Captain landed, he took possession of the land and port, which he named the bay of San Francisco, Fray Francisco de la Concepcion of the Order of Barefoot Franciscans baptized it. After this procedure with the men in marching order, they went to a rancheria about an arquebus-shot from the beach, where there were about fifty adult Indians, looking on with much wonderment in seeing people never before seen by them. All were very peaceable, and their arms, which up to that time they were not known to have had, were in their houses. They took out a seed the size of anise seed only a little thinner, and which had the same taste as sesame, of which they made bread. The Spaniards saw deer walking about, the largest ever found, as could be seen by the antlers, of which the Captain carried away a sample. The same day the Captain with his men, going inland about half a league, came upon a band of Indians in a warlike attitude, who, as soon as they saw the Spaniards, began prancing around and dancing a war-dance (Spanish-*escaramusa*), and giving loud howls. Soon one of them who carried a tall banner of black feathers began to advance to where the Spaniards were, and having looked them over, stopped to examine the men. But two Indians of those on the beach with whom the Spaniards had made friends and who were along, spoke to them, and soon they all lowered their arms and put them on the ground and came towards the Spaniards. The one who carried the banner brought it and delivered it to the Captain, and then all came up in an humble manner as if terrorized; but the Spaniards pacified them and reassured them, giving them taffeta sashes. The Indians then took their bows and arrows and gave them to the Spaniards. They all had their faces painted in black and red. On returning to the beach the Spaniards made a trench for defence, and while there the Indians near by kept coming to see them and the Spaniards gave them some trifles."

"*Declaration:* On the 15th of November, the Captain with eight Spaniards went up an arm of the river, which is one of three which run into the Bay. One of these which enters about three leagues was large, had a narrow mouth, and near the entrance there was a rancheria of Indians, a little farther on another one near the water with a few people, and quite a bit farther on still another on a hill. It did not appear that they had any arms."

No details about the wreck of the *San Agustin* were given in the report. Evidently a southerly gale wrecked the ship on the beach the latter part of November with the loss of some of the crew and complete loss of its cargo. (Drake's Bay is known to be an unsafe anchorage in south and southwest gales.)

After the loss of his ship Cermeño with some of his men twice went inland seeking food. The land and some of its features are described in a "*Declaration*—Information on the character of the land which was seen in the port which was reached:"

"The land seems fertile as far as three leagues inland, according to what I saw and what the other Spaniards saw whom I took with me to seek food, of which there was need on account of the loss of the ship. The soil will return any kind of seed that may be sown, as there are trees which bear hazelnuts, acorns and other fruits of the country, madrones and fragrant herbs like those of Castile. There is also near where I went to seek food a branch of a river which runs into the sea, and near the camp are other arroyos of fresh water about two musket-shots from the sea. There are also in the country a quantity of crabs and wild birds and deer, with which the people maintain their existence. And this is put down in the declaration, and I have knowledge of it as a person who twice went inland to seek food, as we had none."

In a verification of Cermeño's report, signed by Pedro de Lugo, it is stated: "that this witness went with Captain Sebastian Rodriguez inland the first time with twelve other Spaniards and some Indians with their arms, to discover where was food to sustain the people who were left by the loss of the *Sant Agustin*, as all the supplies in it were lost, not a thing being saved; and having gone inland a matter of 3 or 4 leagues they found in a little valley acorn trees and some Indians and while they were there, there came twenty more Indians who lived on the beach near where the launch was being made at camp. These had gone away because they had been deprived of some wood they had taken which had come from the wreck of the ship, and they defended themselves with their bows and arrows . . . The Indians shot arrows at the Spaniards, and one of them planted an arrow in the breast of a Spaniard and they fled. There was taken from them the food they had—about a sack and a half of dry bitter acorns—and if it had not been for these, all the people would have suffered and died."

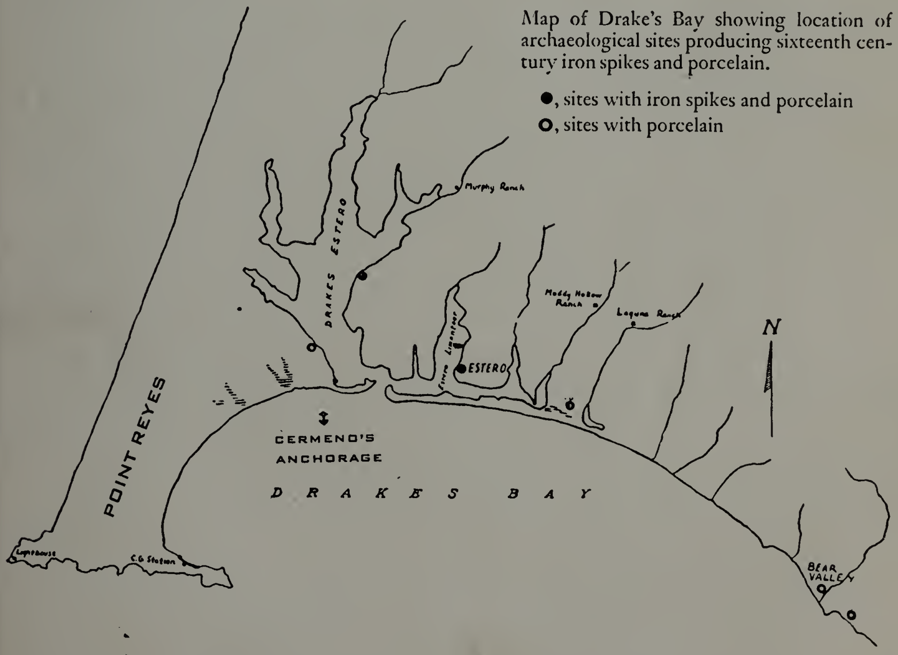
Cermeño reports his departure from so-called Drake's Bay as follows: "On Friday morning the 8th of December, we left the bay and port of San Francisco where we were shipwrecked. . . . I passed near the islands *(Farallones)* and about a league more or less from the land." He then reports passing a large bay, which he named the bay of San Pedro (*Monterey Bay*). His report continues with a detailed description of his difficult voyage south to Mexico in the small launch.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF SEBASTIAN RODRIGUEZ CERMENO'S CALIFORNIA VISIT IN 1595

Under the above heading Dr. Robert F. Heizer, Department of Anthropology, University of California, read a paper before the California Historical Society on December 16, 1941, which was published in their *Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 4, of that year.

Several years before Drake's Plate of Brass was found by Beryle Shinn, Dr. Heiser, then a graduate student of archaeology and the Indians of Marin County, had thought of the possibility of finding the Plate in one of the Indian shellmounds there.

Soon after the finding of the Plate, the Anthropology Department of the University of California authorized Dr. Heiser to make a search for other evidence and in the summer of 1940 he led a party of students to Marin County. In the second site examined, overlooking an arm of Drake's Estero, they found heavily rusted iron spikes and fragments of Chinese porcelain.


Map of Drake's Bay showing location of archaeological sites producing sixteenth century iron spikes and porcelain.

●, sites with iron spikes and porcelain

○, sites with porcelain

Murphy Ranch
DRAKES ESTERO
Estero Limantour
ESTERO
Muddy Hollow Ranch
Laguna Ranch
N
POINT REYES
CERMENO'S ANCHORAGE
DRAKES BAY
Lighthouse
C.G. Station
BEAR VALLEY

In 1941 the search was resumed. In seven mounds, more spikes and porcelain fragments were found.

While Dr. Heiser was interested in finding objects which would date and define the native culture of the Indians, he was also hopeful that he might find some evidence of Drake's landing in 1579 or of Cermeño's shipwreck sixteen years later. Dr. Heiser states that while the research found much evidence of sixteenth century European contacts in the Indian shellmounds which pointed to Cermeño and his wrecked vessel, they were not of the type which pointed to Drake.

The account then describes in detail the exploration of the Indian mounds and the articles and fragments found in them.

THE LANDING PLACE OF DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA AS DESCRIBED IN THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED COMPARED WITH THAT OF CERMENO AS DESCRIBED IN HIS DECLARATIONS

The topography and other features of the country described in the two accounts have no resemblance.

That of Drake's Bay and the land fronting on it as described in Cermeño's Report would identify it as his landing place had it not been proved by the evidence found in the Indian shellmounds there.

To one familiar with the terrain on the western shore of northern San Francisco Bay and the country back of it who reads the narrative in *The World Encompassed* describing Drake's landing in California, it is possible to distinguish many of the features of the country and landmarks in and about the areas where the Plate of Brass was found.

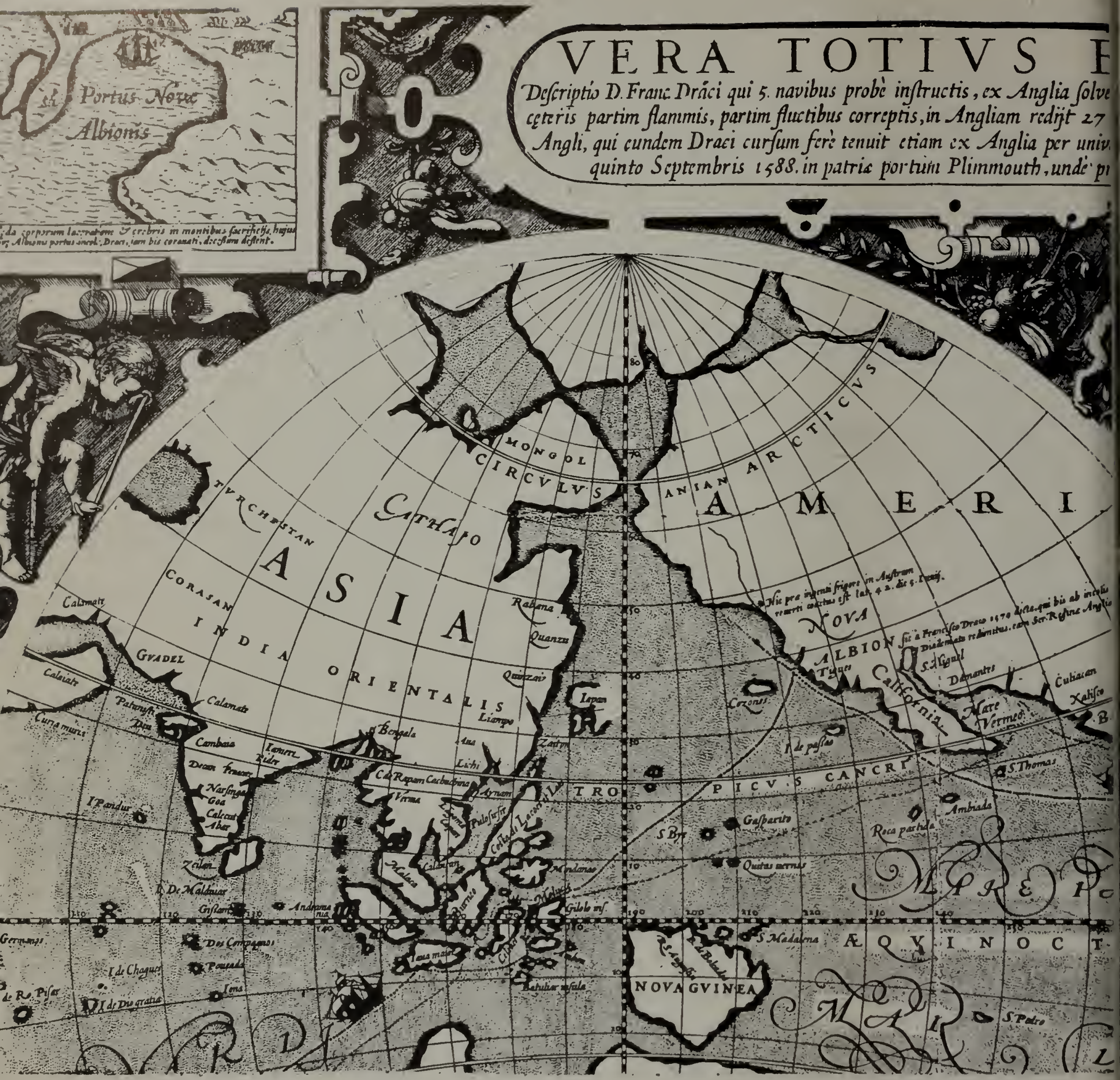
The Drake account always refers to the landing place as shore. The Cermeño account always as beach.

In the Drake account the Indian village is described as being "about three quarters of an English mile distant" from where the natives came over a hill to visit them at their camp and fort, near the shore of their "harborough." This fits an approach from the little valley of Green-Brae over the ridge which separates it from the cove (now filled in) where Drake landed and on the top of which the Drake Plate was found amid the remains of a monument overlooking San Francisco Bay.

Cermeño found some Indians living in huts on the beach and others in rancherias on arms of the Estero, one of them close to the beach "where there were about fifty adult Indians, looking on with much wonderment in seeing people never before seen by them" (sixteen years after Drake's landing).

The question is often asked, "Why was not the area on the ridge where the Drake Plate was found acquired as a site for a park or monument?"

In 1941 two of us who were Directors of the California Historical Society started to inquire into that possibility and found the land was available. Then came the attack on Pearl Harbor. During the following four years more important matters occupied our time and attention in connection with the war. By the time it ended the land had been acquired for subdivision.


Portus Novæ Albionis
VERA TOTIVS E
Descriptio D. Franc. Drâci qui 5. navibus probè instructis, ex Anglia solve
cæteris partim flammis, partim fluctibus correptis, in Angliam rediit 27
Angli, qui eundem Draci cursum ferè tenuit etiam ex Anglia per univ
quinto Septembris 1588. in patriæ portum Plimmouth, undè pr
ASIA
AMERI
CATHAIO
TVRCHESTAN
CORASAN
INDIA ORIENTALIS
MONGOL
CIRCVLVS ANIAN ARCTICVS
NOVA ALBION
California
Mare Vermeo
Iapan
Bengala
Malaca
TROPICVS CANCRI
MARE PA
ÆQVINOCT
NOVA GVINEA
Zeilan
Goa
Calecut
Cambaia
Quinzai
Quanzu
Rabana
Gaspar Rico
S. Thomas
Roca partida
Xalisco
Culiacan
S. Pedro
S. Madalena
I. de Chagua
Dos Compagnos

THE HONDIUS MAP

This is the upper left hand quarter of the famous Hondius map, published about 1590, which shows the route taken by Sir Francis Drake on his voyage around the world. The map had inserts on three of its corners intended to roughly outline three of Drake's landing places. They were pictorial outlines, not drawn to scale. The one shown here at the upper left corner outlines his Portus Nova Albionis, "the faire and good Baye" where he made his California landing.

On the map is shown the route of the *Golden Hinde* up the California coast to about 42 degrees latitude as described in Hakluyt's *Famous Voyage,* from where "we drewe backe again without landing, till we came within 38 degrees toward the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same." The Bay is shown by an indentation in the coast line from which the route of the *Golden Hinde* starts on the map on its voyage home across the Pacific Ocean.

It should be considered that Drake was looking for a landing where he could hide from the Spaniards, who might be following him, as well as a harbor where he could repair his ship. Drake's voyage up the coast of South America after sailing through the Strait of Magellan was devoted to plundering Spanish ships and ports until the *Golden Hinde* reached the coast of Mexico. Not daring to return southward to the Strait of Magellan for fear of attack by the Spaniards or to remain on the coast of Mexico for the same reason, Drake headed North in search of that "fit harborough" where he could feel safe while repairing his leaking ship before starting across the broad Pacific loaded with treasure taken from the Spaniards, which included an estimated thirty tons of gold and silver. Drake certainly found what he was looking for on the San Quentin arm of northern San Francisco Bay.

Different historians have distorted the topography of Bodega Bay, Point Reyes, and Drake's Estero to support their location of Drake's Portus. In April, 1954, Robert H. Power in *Pacific Discovery*, published by the California Academy of Sciences, contended that Drake entered San Francisco Bay, and by comparing the pictorial outline of Drake's *Portus* with the map of northern San Francisco Bay, with Belvedere Island on the western side of the Tiburon Peninsula, made a very convincing showing. That island has always been difficult for historians to account for. It does not fit into other locations. The location shown of Drake's camp and fort where "we set up our tents, and entrenched ourselves with walls of stone" fits into the picture drawn by the narrative in *The World Encompassed.*

The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Pioneer in California Kindergarten Education
By DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

Olive Oatman's First Account of Her Captivity
Among the Mohave
By A. L. KROEBER and CLIFTON B. KROEBER

A Forgotten Chapter in California History:
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By WILLIAM E. FRANKLIN

Rivera at San Francisco:
A Journal of Exploration, 1774
Translated by ALAN K. BROWN

DECEMBER 1962

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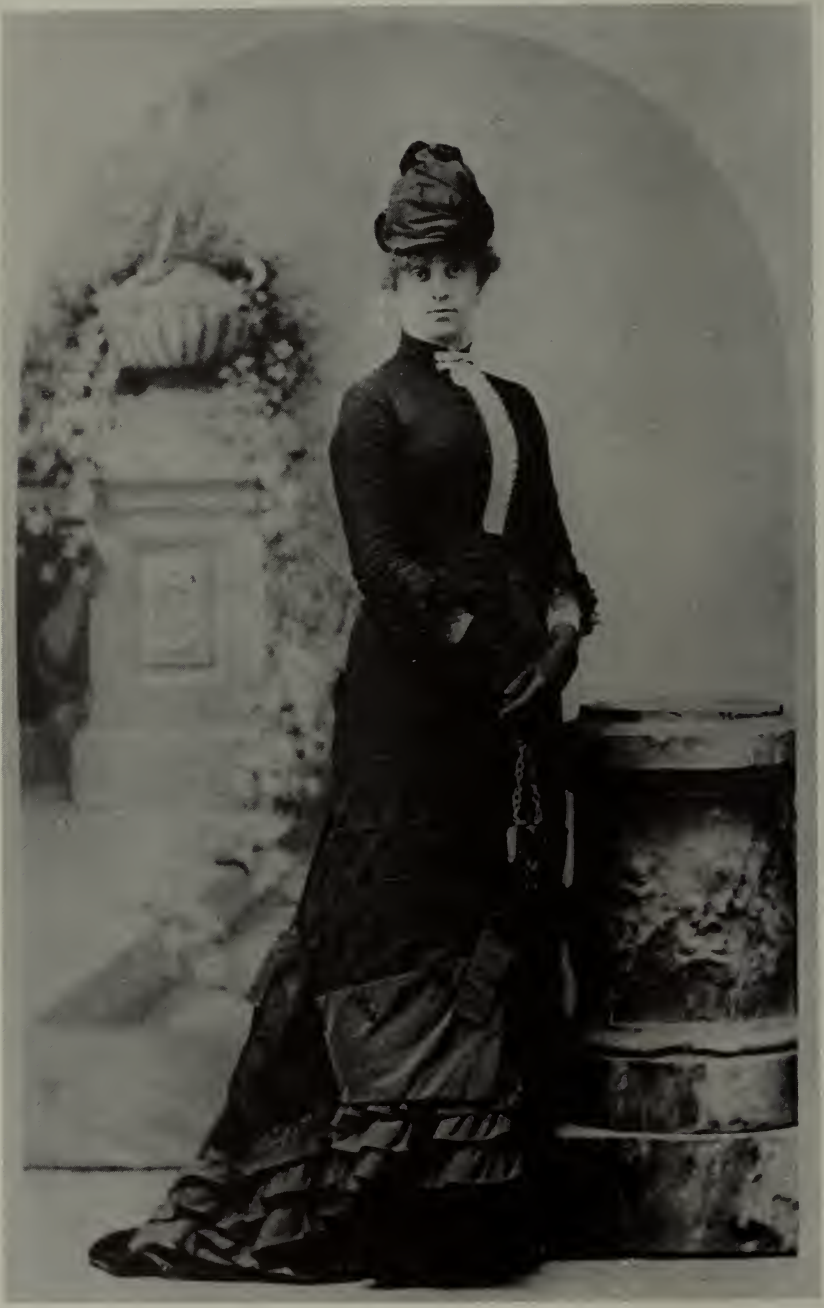

Kate Douglas Wiggin
From the California Historical Society Library.

Kate Douglas Wiggin:
Pioneer in California Kindergarten Education

By DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

MOTIVATED BY THE SPIRIT OF REFORM ripe in the land, coupled with a resurgence of religious fervor, rooted in an historic dedication to humanitarian tradition, the early kindergarten movement in the United States was looked upon by its adherents as one of the primary instruments for the regeneration of human society. Friedrich Froebel, a German educator who was responsible for launching the movement, vigorously expounded the view that the Christian "law of love" if inculcated in the minds and hearts of young children could eventually reap the harvest of "peace on earth, good will toward men." In the wake of the Civil War, many Americans adopted his view, particularly those concerned with the impact of rising industrialization and its bleak social consequences growing in evidence on the American scene. As poverty manifested itself increasingly in large cities, laymen became acutely sensitive to the plight of the children of the poorer working classes. To alleviate the possible dire effects of such resultant conditions in society, education was seized upon as the solution of the means to a better end. This was labeled the "New Education." High on the list of educational reforms to bring about this betterment of life for poorer children was the kindergarten.[1]

Converts to this cause, a group of men and women, spurred by the advice of Professor Felix Adler of New York City, noted teacher,

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author, and philanthropist, formed the Public Kindergarten Society of San Francisco in the summer of 1878. On the evening of July 23, Professor Adler presided over the initial gathering of some one hundred members crowded into the parlors of the Baldwin Hotel. Monthly dues of one dollar were fixed and several life memberships of one hundred dollars were subscribed to provide a basic operational fund. After adopting a constitution and bylaws, the gathering proceeded to the election of officers and a board of directors. The following were duly chosen by the assembly: Solomon Heydenfeldt, president; Siegfried Nicklesburg, vice-president; Dr. Joseph Hirschfelder, secretary; Julius Jacobs, treasurer; board of directors—Rev. Horatio Stebbins, John Swett, Frederick Roeding, Mrs. Lawrence Gottig, Mrs. Herman Behrendt, Mrs. Henry Lessing, and Miss Emma Marwedel.[2]

Noteworthy among the newly elected board members was Emma Marwedel who was "the typical educational reformer, and about equally interested in the details of kindergarten education and in schemes of world regeneration through education."[3] Born in Münden, near Göttingen, Germany, in 1818, she was the eldest of five children. Little is known of her early life other than at a young age family responsibilities were thrust upon her with the premature death of her mother. On the death of her father she was forced to break the social traditions of her time and seek employment. With firmness and devotion she largely self-educated herself and dedicated her career to early childhood and female education and welfare.[4]

In 1867, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, distinguished for her contributions to American education, visited Miss Marwedel's kindergarten and girls' industrial school in Germany. Later Miss Peabody wrote: "It was Miss Marwedel who, in 1867, first introduced me to Froebel's genuine Kindergarten in the city of Hamburg, and inspired me with the courage to make the main object of the remainder of my life to extend the Kindergarten over my own country."[5] Probably at the urging of Miss Peabody, Miss Marwedel emigrated to the United States.

At first frustrated in establishing a kindergarten, Miss Marwedel founded a female cooperative industrial training school near Brentwood, Long Island, in 1870. Failing to make a success of that effort, she moved to Washington, D. C., where for four years she successfully operated a school of industrial arts, a kindergarten, and a Froebelian training school. Among her patrons were James Garfield, James G. Blaine, Senators John Sherman and William Sprague, and Mrs. Carl Schurz.

In 1876, at the behest of Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, the renowned clubwoman and social leader, and the Froebel Society of New England, Miss Marwedel moved to Los Angeles to propagate the kindergarten movement in the West. On her arrival she immediately opened at 134 Hill Street the California Model Kindergarten and the Pacific Normal Training School for Kindergartners. About twenty pupils enrolled in the first kindergarten class, and three young ladies, Katherine Douglas Smith (Kate Douglas Wiggin), Mary Hoyt, and Nettie Stewart, entered the normal class.[6] Two years later, disappointed with response to her work, Miss Marwedel moved to the San Francisco Bay area and opened a private kindergarten in Oakland.[7]

Elizabeth Peabody had praised Miss Marwedel as a "brilliant genius" who had studied "Fröbel's works by herself very profoundly . . . and who proved her understanding of Fröbel by the beautiful results in her Kindergarten at Washington."[8] That reputation undoubtedly led to her election to the board of the newly formed society. And it was on Miss Marwedel's recommendation that her former Los Angeles student, Katherine Douglas Smith, was chosen to establish California's first free kindergarten.[9] It proved to be an auspicious selection.

Kate Douglas Wiggin, the name by which she is best known, was born on September 28, 1856, in Philadelphia, the elder of two daughters born to Robert Noah Smith and Helen Elizabeth (Dyer), descendants of distinguished New England families. Her younger sister, Nora Archibald Smith, was born on February 21, two years later in the same city. In early childhood, their lawyer-father died, and their mother moved the family to Portland, Maine. There Kate's formal education was launched by attendance at a dame school, but, as she relates, "real life, conscious, coherent, and continuous" began after her mother's marriage several years later to a distant cousin, Dr. Albion Bradbury, a physician of Hollis, Maine. In that hamlet, situated some eight miles from Portland, she spent her childhood in happy companionship with her sister and half-brother, Philip. She was given private lessons by her stepfather, attended a district school and several private academies on an irregular basis to complete her acknowledged spotty education.[10]

She spent three terms as a boarding pupil at a school near Hollis. On graduation she received a gold medal for elocution, her only reward. "I learned little or nothing at the Gorham Female Seminary for some reason or other," she later wrote, "although I sometimes wonder just when we really do learn anything. At all events, I did grow in vision, instinct, and wisdom, because of my intimate friendship with my Latin teacher, Miss Mary Smith, who lived in the village." Perhaps that influence planted the seed of a teaching vocation.[11]

After several months attending the senior class of grammar and the freshman class in the high school at South Reading, Massachusetts, she spent part of a winter at Morison Academy in Baltimore, Maryland. Not long after, her family moved to California.

She writes in her autobiography the circumstances which brought about this change:

> [In 1873] . . . my family left Maine for many a year, and embarked for Santa Barbara, where it was hoped that my father, who had a little weakness of the lungs, might grow stronger in the mild and beautiful climate of California. I still "uneducated," strange to say, having sipped momentarily at five founts of learning, was left behind for six months at Abbot Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, one of the best boarding-schools for girls in New England. I was a sore trial to the Faculty, for I was, in a manner of speech, a senior in Literature, a junior in French and Latin, a sophomore in Grammar, a freshman in History, and a poor risk for the preparatory department in Mathematics![12]

The move, however, was propitious for Kate's future career. Arriving six months later, she could look back and conclude: " 'Stepping westward' was, symbolically, only another mile of a life-journey, but 'the long trail' carried me to heights and depths of experience never suspected in all my former wanderings in the land of dreams."[13]

As a young lady of seventeen, she found Santa Barbara "a Paradise on earth." In her day it had "no great hotels, and no magnificent villas in the Montecito and the Mission Cañon. There were no motors, of course: one casual, dilatory, and informal street-car line; deep dust everywhere, save in the rainy season, and a multitudinous army of fleas, since vanished; but it was heaven on earth, nevertheless."[14]

She was to spend three carefree years in abandoned enjoyment as only youth can. The family resided in "a pleasant house, although there were no positively unpleasant ones to be found; for where fuchsias and geraniums climb up and hang over the fences, and rosebushes, staggering under their wealth of bloom, hide all defects of architecture, or lack of paint, the enchanted eye refuses to find a flaw." To amuse her there were "few dances save those under the famous grapevine in the Montecito Valley, because there was so much bathing and horseback riding, so many picnics in the Cathedral Oaks and along the many trails through the cañons, so many suppers on the beach—in short, such a habit of living out of doors morning, noon, and evening, that there was little time for indoor gayeties."[15]

Abruptly her youthful idyl ended; the demands of maturity and livelihood reared their uncompromising heads with the death of her stepfather in 1876. Kate Douglas Wiggin had to become a woman of the world: she met that challenge with active response and quiet courage.

Perhaps her stepfather's death would not have proved traumatic had it not been for his heavy investment in the Santa Barbara land boom—a boom which proved at the time a major bust. The family was left in distressed financial condition. To support herself, Kate elected to accept Mrs. Caroline M. Severance's invitation to enroll in Emma Marwedel's first kindergarten training class in Los Angeles. To provide the tuition, the last available property was mortgaged, and Mrs. Severance offered room and board to help young Kate for whom she had a genuine affection: they were "fast friends."

Mrs. Severance had only recently moved to Los Angeles from Boston "with her husband and two sons to make a home and plant an orange grove in Los Angeles." A "modest, unassuming, sympathetic, broad-minded" woman in her late fifties, "a born reformer," Kate found in her both an example and a vital stimulant.[16] She relates:

> [Mrs. Severance] interested me greatly in the kindergarten movement, which was then gaining ground in Massachusetts under the name of the "New Education," and through the efforts of Elizabeth Peabody, who, not long returned from the land of Froebel [Germany], was fully assured that she had solved the riddle of the universe. Her brother-in-law, Horace Mann, had introduced the system into his famous school, and Marie Krause-Boelté, a pupil of Frau Froebel, had also made a beginning in New York.[17]

The influence of Mrs. Severance on Kate was instantaneous: "If I had been made of tinder and a lighted match had been applied to me, I could not have taken fire more easily, when Mrs. Severance told me of this new education enterprise with young children." And why?

"The complete regeneration of humanity by any series of simple expedients had never been put before me seriously up to this time," she wrote, "either as a graceful occupation or a noble form of self-sacrifice, and I kindled to it warmly, though secretly."[18]

Mrs. Severance saw Kate's potential and pleaded eloquently:

> The training-school will open at once, even if there is only one pupil, and, my dear Kate, I beseech you to be that one! You were born for this work and are peculiarly fitted to do pioneer service because you are musical, a good story-teller, and fond of children. I have studied you carefully without your knowledge; and at my age I am a fair judge of the necessary requirements. You have the play-spirit in you, but you also love work! If you can manage the hundred dollars for tuition and perhaps twenty-five extra for books and working materials, I beg you to enroll at once and become our guest and a member of our family for the necessary nine months' course. I consider I am doing as much for Miss Marwedel and the cause as for you in this matter, so pray do not disappoint me.

Kate responded, with family support, and became one of three students in the first kindergarten normal training class in California.[19]

Kate's younger sister, Nora, later recalled that Mrs. Severance had encouraged Kate to take this momentous step, and stated poignantly: "We had never up to that time, as I remember, heard, either of Froebel or his system of child-education, but the two words were destined to become part of life before long, and they proved magic ones, indeed, for they opened to both of us the doors of opportunity and of success, and still better, the portals of that enchanted country of childhood, which is the morning-land of the soul."[20]

What followed for Kate was "a delightful year of study and practice in a calling which she found to be as native to her as the water to a swan."[21] As for Kate, she "felt as if Elijah had alighted from his chariot and asked me to accompany him to some unknown Paradise."[22] And it proved to be such a year in her life, full of excitement and joy in sharing the life of childhood education.

Although the kindergarten idea was new in Los Angeles, and there had been no advertising, some twenty children enrolled, "gathered by Mrs. Severance," in the first class. Kate later confided, "I shall never forget the hour when I first joined the circle game in Miss Marwedel's beautiful California garden and, with the hand of a new child-friend clasped in each of my own, received my first glimpse of what 'guided play' might mean in early education."[23] Her performance that year in her training class bore out Mrs. Severance's estimate: she was a natural born kindergartner—a quality she never lost throughout her later life.

That first morning's experience was a forging link in the future life of Kate Douglas Wiggin. She was "in an incredible state of excitement," for she felt "for the first time" in her life that she was able to do something well, "perhaps in course of time superlatively well." She confessed:

> I felt in my right place, happy, with entirely new springs of action touched, new powers awakened. I had never known any group of young children before. I had never consciously gone through any previous phase of the development of maternal instinct; but the very knowledge that this exhilarating morning was to be followed by others gave me enormous pleasure in anticipation.[24]

Her reaction to Miss Marwedel's lectures was sympathetic and responsive, for "the personality, the enthusiasm, and the spoken word" of the teacher "made all the difference." In summation she recalled:

> I am very grateful that my first training came from Miss Marwedel. She was not adapted to all pupils, her English not being perfect and her method not systematic. Her feet never trod the solid earth; she was an idealist, a dreamer, and a visionary, but life is so apt to be crammed with Gradgrinds that I am thankful when I come into intimate contact with a dreamer. . . . give me a dreamer or two to stir the imagination and kindle the heart's desire for noble things.

Without any question Kate was Miss Marwedel's stellar pupil. She quickly caught "Froebel's vision of the future of the race if children from the earliest years could be self-governing and creative, instead of disciplined like soldiers and 'standardized'."[25] It was a visionary message which she was to carry with her throughout her life: she became a dedicated convert to the kindergarten cause and one of its tireless workers.

Upon graduation in early July, 1877, and with the knowledge that her "feet were set upon a most beautiful path, full of charm, of gayety, and of real service to the world," she returned that summer to Santa Barbara.[26] There she rented a room in a "lovely old adobe house," which had a long veranda and ample playground space, situated on Chapala Street, a quiet street "bordered with eucalyptus trees and blooming with rose-gardens." With the help of her sister Nora, who had just graduated from Santa Barbara College, she opened a private kindergarten and dubbed it "Nido de la Golondrina" or "The Swallow's Nest."[27] During the following year's labor, Kate practised her calling while Nora began her pedagogic career in the "little private kindergarten . . . learning something of its practical workings." As part of her apprenticeship, Nora taught the children to read English, a task which she felt "the labors of Sisyphus cannot be compared."[28]

Drawing on her year's experience in Santa Barbara, Kate "had a vision of how wonderful it would be to plant a child-garden in some dreary, poverty-stricken place in a large city, a place swarming with unmothered, undefended, under-nourished child-life."[29] She was to have her wish: Miss Marwedel's recommendation to the Public Kindergarten Society of San Francisco provided the fulfillment.

On September 1, 1878, after an arduous month of preparation, Kate Douglas Wiggin opened the doors of the first free kindergarten in California to an overflow class of fifty needy children. The Public Kindergarten Society had provided quarters by obtaining an abandoned two-room schoolhouse at 64 Silver Street.[30] That area was known as Tar Flat and was "the wretchedest of slums, crowded with shops and tenements and saloons, where lived overworked, underpaid men and shrill-voiced women and uncared for children."[31] What Kate accomplished there during her years of service made the Silver Street Kindergarten a nationally recognized institution, and brought her well-deserved fame.

Elizabeth Peabody was moved to write in an article on "The Origin and Growth of the Kindergartens" in 1882, ". . . [we] must not omit to notice the truly magnificent work done in California, as it is exhibited in the report of the [first] three years work of [the] Silver Street Charity Kindergarten."[32] An earlier 1880 newspaper account generously reported:

> The history of the Silver Street Kindergarten alone would make a volume in itself, so many interesting incidents occur there daily. There is not a phase of human nature the Principal has not seen during the two years she has been in charge. In visiting families, she has been called upon to perform the duties of spiritual counselor, physician, mother, nurse, provider, benefactor, and general guardian; with what success may be learned from scores of parents in the neighborhood who have been raised from squalor, drunkenness, and crime to cleanliness, sobriety, and virtue, and who now speak in terms of enthusiastic and unqualified praise, tinged with reverential awe, of "Miss Kate."

Her young charges were "street Arabs of the wildest type," but through her natural born abilities and talents she "succeeded in a remarkably short time" in transforming them into exemplary children.[33] Indeed, so remarkable was her success that on the second visit of the board members to inspect the school's first class she was queried as to whether or not she had really accepted the most needy of the neighborhood children! Such was the transformation wrought by her efforts.[34]

In a letter to her sister Nora, which "recounts the success of the closing exercises of her first school year," "Miss Kate" described the occasion:

> There was a great crowd and the children were lovely beyond words. The Assistants from the Normal School sang a hymn which I wrote to a melody of Abt's, and I made a closing address on the kindergarten, in which I am sure I made some points for the cause, although . . . I was obliged to cut out *eleven* pages of it, owing to the lateness of the hour. My costume for the occasion was my old blue flannel, with wide white trimming and strings and a pare [*sic*] of nicely dyed black gloves. Effect, educationally, simple and pleasing. I will send you a printed account of the affair, but must post this one first to Dr. Adler in New York.[35]

And points for the cause she did make!

Not long after the first kindergarten class was underway, she received the enthusiastic support of John Swett, former state superintendent of education, then principal of the Girls' High School and Normal Class in San Francisco, and Mrs. Mary W. Kincaid of his staff. They "detailed two student teachers, partly as assistants and partly as students of kindergarten methods" to the Silver Street School.[36] Soon after, she was asked by the superintendent of city schools to lecture before his teachers and received a like invitation to address the executive committee of the state teachers' association.[37] In addition, she became active in the California Kindergarten Union founded on November 8, 1879, which later became the California Froebel Society.[38] Her work was earning her a deserved reputation: she was becoming an authority on kindergarten education.

Her success was rewarded not only by greater financial contributions to the Public Kindergarten Society, but by a host of distinguished visitors who came to see and left believing. Joaquin Miller was moved to write in the visitors' book, "*See the Yosemite Valley first and then the Silver Street Kindergarten!*"[39] Another visitor, brought by John Swett, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, was so attracted to the enterprise that she opened a second free kindergarten on Jackson Street, October 6, 1879, and labored diligently for the cause until the time of her tragic death. She became the mainspring behind the development of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association.[40]

To perfect her vocation, Kate spent three months in the East in the summer of 1880 working with Susan Blow, Elizabeth Peabody, and consulting other pioneer kindergarten educators. On her return to San Francisco in the fall, she inaugurated the California Kindergarten Training School.[41] Her sister Nora was among the first four recruits.

Nora, who never married, had taught previously in a private school at Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico, and had served as principal of the girls' department of Tucson's (Arizona) public schools. Soon after her arrival in San Francisco, she was "able to lift some of the daily work" from her older sister's shoulders, and when she obtained her diploma took charge of the kindergarten, while "Miss Kate" devoted herself to "successive training classes of earnest and enthusiastic young women."[42]

In demand as a speaker, "Miss Kate" traveled much, always devoting her lectures to the theory and practice of the kindergarten, spreading the "gospel," throughout northern California communities. And results proved her mission. By 1884, when she moved to New York City, California could boast of 34 kindergartens, the majority in San Francisco, with an enrollment of 1,579 pupils, and an instructional staff of 64. The greater number of teachers who staffed those new additions were graduates of the California Kindergarten Training School.[43] Furthermore, the San Francisco City School System adopted the kindergarten in principle as a facet of the public schools for children five to six years of age![44] No longer would kindergarten education be looked upon as an exclusively charitable or private endeavor: it was now accepted as a public responsibility.

It was not marriage and family which took Kate Wiggin from her California classroom, for she was married twice: first to Samuel Bradley Wiggin in San Francisco in December, 1881, by the Reverend Horatio Stebbins, pastor of the First Unitarian Church and one of her devoted friends and supporters, and six years after Wiggin's death on March 30, 1895, to George Christopher Riggs, who survived her. Rather, it was her growing reputation as a writer.

Her literary talent blossomed early. In 1878, the year she was appointed to the Silver Street Kindergarten, she authored her first published work, *Half a Dozen Housekeepers*, which appeared in *St.*

Nicholas Magazine in three installments, beginning with the November issue. To help raise money for the free kindergarten cause, *The Story of Patsy* was written in 1882 and published in San Francisco the following year—later nationally published by Houghton Mifflin Company.[45] In 1888, one of her more enduring works appeared, *The Bird's Christmas Carol.* In rapid succession, *Timothy's Quest* (1890), *Polly Oliver's Problems* (1893), and a book which earned her a national following, *A Cathedral Courtship* (1893), appeared. Her literary future was sealed—but at the expense of her participation in kindergarten education in California.

From 1884 until 1892, she appeared annually for a brief series of lectures at the California Kindergarten Training School, and was usually on hand for the awarding of certificates of completion. But as her career interest shifted, coupled with the untimely death of her first husband, she found in writing and public speaking a larger national audience for the "New Education."[46] And it was to that cause that she bent her future efforts. She continued, however, to teach young and old through the many books which she wrote.

As a pioneer kindergarten educator she was honored by being one of six distinguished women of the world invited to come as guests to the Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1915. That San Francisco event proved a gala one and provided a reunion with graduates from her training school. Showered with honors on the occasion, she wrote, "It was heavenly, a day fit to die on!"[47]

Her sister, Nora, sensitively observed:

> Kindergarten work in California was successful from the beginning, as it has been everywhere when the right person has directed its course; but in this case there was not only the interest in the newly discovered, or newly applied educational principles upon which it is founded to awaken interest, not only the compelling charm of the children themselves, but the qualities of the leader. My sister was, it need hardly be said, one of those teachers "by the grace of God" that Froebel described. . . . I should be but a half-hearted believer in Froebel, however, if I did not bear testimony to the fact that the kindergarten is itself a power, and, even in the hands of a much less gifted person than was Kate Douglas Wiggin, can be trusted to work miracles.
>
> We were all ardent believers in those days, not only in Froebelian principles, but in "Miss Kate," as children and teachers uniformly called her and as many of her "girls'" still speak of her. That room at No. 64 Silver Street, where the first

free kindergarten of the West was opened, was a hallowed spot to all of us, and for years there hung upon its walls a life-like portrait which bore upon its frame the following words:

> KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN
>
> In this room was born the first free kindergarten west of the Rocky Mountains. Let me have the happiness of looking down upon many successive groups of children sitting in the same seats.

Unfortunately the earthquake and fire of 1906 levelled the school and destroyed its contents of records and memorabilia. But that catastrophe could not obliterate the "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace" which was at the heart of the institution and its staff.[48]

In 1923, on the eve of her death, her autobiography *My Garden of Memory* appeared. In that book, she attested to her life's work:

> When I recall those marvelous days in California, first with children, their mothers, fathers, and homes, and then with large classes of young women (though many of my pupils were twice my age), and also with many audiences in villages and towns in the vicinity of San Francisco, I half believe that Nature intended me, not for a writer, but for a teacher. I could always teach a thing whether I knew it or not, and I think I might always have remained a teacher had not my nerves been worn threadbare by "pioneering." At all events, I thank God for every enriching day spent with children.[49]

In the cause of education, she contributed much, particularly to early childhood education through her firm advocacy of the kindergarten, a cause strongly supported with the joint cooperation of her sister Nora.[50]

In the field of children's literature, she was a like pioneer. By no means a gifted literary artist, she applied her limited talents to that which concerned her most, a healthy and vibrant literature directed primarily to an audience of juvenile readers. Her books, based on experience and partially autobiographical, characterized by humor and a Dickensian style, simple and dignified, combining laughter and morality, reflect a deep commitment to both young and old—she was a literary educator to the end.[51] And the end came to her, August 24, 1923, at Harrow, England. Firm in the belief that the education of children was the hope of the world, she died with the conviction that "the song itself is never ended."[52]

NOTES

1. Timothy L. Smith, "Progressivism in American Education, 1880-1900," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXI (Spring, 1961), 168-181; David B. Tyack, "Education and Social Unrest, 1873-1878," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXI (Spring, 1961), 194-212; Elizabeth P. Peabody, "The Origin and Growth of the Kindergarten," *Education*, II (May, 1882), 507-527, stresses the religious aspects.

2. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 24, 1878; Kate D. Smith [Wiggin], *A History of the Silver Street Kindergarten* (San Francisco, [1881]), pp. 5-6. (Hereinafter cited, Wiggin, *S.S.K. History.*)

3. Earl Barnes, "Emma Marwedel," in The Committee of Nineteen, *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America* (New York and London, 1924), p. 266.

4. Biographical data for Miss Marwedel has been drawn from Fletcher H. Swift, *Emma Marwedel, Pioneer of the Kindergarten in California* (University of California Publications in Education, VI, No. 3 [Berkeley, 1931]), pp. 139-216; his articles in the *American School Board Journal*, LXXXIII (August, 1931), 58-60, and in *Sierra Educational News*, XXIX (February, 1933), 33-35. Helpful earlier accounts are: Albin Putzker, "A Devoted Kindergartner," *Pacific Educational Journal*, X (January, 1894), 2-5; Will S. Monroe, "Emma Marwedel and the Kindergarten," *Education*, XIV (February, 1894), 338-341; Elizabeth Harrison, "Miss Emily Marwedel," National Educational Association, *Addresses and Proceedings, 1894* (St. Paul, Minn., 1895), pp. 238-241; San Francisco *Morning Call*, November 18, 1893.

5. Emma Marwedel, *The Missing Link, and the Continuation of the Development of the Child from the Kindergarten to the Manual-Labor School* (Boston and New York, [1889]), p. 37.

6. U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report for 1876* (Washington, 1878), pp. 26-27, 572; Swift, *Marwedel*, p. 163. The *Report for 1875* (Washington, 1876), p. lxii, lists one kindergarten for California for the years 1873-1875, which reportedly had two teachers and fifteen pupils, without specifying place or names of staff. The *Report for 1876*, p. 572, credits Mrs. N. G. Hill with establishing a kindergarten in Sacramento in 1875. She is reported holding her class in the Odd Fellows' Temple with an enrollment of fifteen and one assistant. These last two cited sources would appear to negate the statement made in the *Report of 1880* (Washington, 1882), p. 21: "The first Kindergarten in the State was established by Miss Emma Marwedel, at Los Angeles, in 1876." This same information corrects the version given in J. M. Guinn, "The Beginnings of the School System of Los Angeles," *Annual Publication* of The Historical Society of Southern California, VIII, Pt. 3 (1911), 205-206, and in Katherine L. McLaughlin, "How Los Angeles Contributed to the Development of the Kindergarten in California," *Childhood Education*, I (June, 1925), 479-482. Actually, the first kindergarten was established in San Francisco in 1863. See "Kindergartens," *California Teacher*, I (April, 1864), 229-232. For a historical summary, see William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley, 1937), pp. 163-176.

Miss Marwedel also operated an evening industrial school in Los Angeles, for later she wrote, "In Los Angeles fourteen volunteer teachers and seventy-five children responded to a call for a free industrial school." See Emma Marwedel, "Prevention of Criminal Idleness," International Congress of Education, *Addresses and Proceedings* (Chicago, 1893), p. 377; Los Angeles *Evening Express*, July 14; October 6, 8, 10, 1877.

7. Los Angeles was not without praise for her work. See Los Angeles *Evening Express*, July 10, 1877. Her Oakland kindergarten opened at 511 Seventeenth Street, but the exact date in the late summer of 1878 is uncertain. See U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report for 1878* (Washington, 1880), p. 378; Oakland *Daily Evening Tribune*, November 20, 1893.

8. Letter, undated, in the *American Journal of Education*, XXX (March, 1880), 12. (Froebel is the preferred spelling.) Miss Marwedel received like praise for her efforts in the United States. See San Francisco *Morning Call* July 14, 1882; June 12, 1884 *(Supplement)*; August 5, 1884.

9. Swift, *Marwedel*, p. 169.

10. Biographical details, unless otherwise noted, are drawn from Kate Douglas Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory* (New York, 1923), and Nora Archibald Smith, *Kate Douglas Wiggin As Her Sister Knew Her* (New York, 1925).

11. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 45-49.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58. The family residence was on De la Guerra Street. *Hand-Book and Directory of . . . [the Southern Counties]* (San Francisco, 1875), p .105.

16. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 89-90; Smith, *Wiggin*, p. 28; Mary S. Gibson, *Caroline M. Severance* (Los Angeles, 1925), pp. 12-14; Rockwell D. Hunt, *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Stockton, 1950), pp. 535-540.

17. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 90.

18. *Loc. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 91. In her autobiography the year is erroneously given as 1877 when in fact it was 1876.

20. Smith, *Wiggin*, p. 28.

21. *Loc. cit.*

22. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 91.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 105; Los Angeles *Republican*, July 31, 1877.

27. Charlotte W. Bagg, "Kate Douglas Wiggin As I Knew Her," *Yankee*, III (November, 1941), 19. A description of the Santa Barbara adobe is given in Kate D. Wiggin, *Love By Express: A Novel of California* (Privately Printed by the Dorcas Society of Hollis and Buxton, Maine, 1924), pp. 1-13. This novelette is

probably her second literary effort. Her sister Nora writes in the Foreword that it was written "just before her attention was turned to the study of [the] kindergarten," and after her first story for girls, "Half-a-Dozen Housekeepers," was published in *St. Nicholas Magazine*. "As to the exact year of its composition I am uncertain, for I share [my sister's] indifference to dates and her inability to regard them as important." (Since Kate launched her study of the kindergarten in 1876 and her first story was published in the winter of 1878, I am of the opinion that the novelette in question was written while she was teaching kindergarten in Santa Barbara.)

Both Kate Douglas Wiggin and her sister Nora fail to accurately detail the circumstances of the Santa Barbara kindergarten. The adobe house was bought from Mrs. E. H. Wood who had previously operated a private school in it. The purchase was made by Santa Barbara College, the institution from which Nora graduated. On August 6, the college opened a private kindergarten in the newly purchased house and appointed the young Kate Smith to take charge of the first class. See Santa Barbara *Daily Press*, August 6, 20, 1877.

28. Smith, *Wiggin*, p. 29.

29. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 106-107. For her social views, see her pamphlet, *The Relationship of the Kindergarten to Social Reform* (San Francisco, n.d.), 16 pp. This tract was published by the California Froebel Society.

30. Wiggin, *S.S.K. History*, p. 9. The San Francisco *Morning Call*, May 28, 1893, states eight pupils appeared on the first day, but increased to fifty by the end of the week.

The impact of Silver Street Kindergarten on San Francisco is attested to in a series of articles which appeared in the local press. These articles were published under the following titles and dates: "Education for the Young: The Best Remedy for Hoodlumism," San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, December 7, 1878; "Kindergarten in San Francisco: A Visit to the Silver-Street Kindergarten," San Francisco *Daily Bulletin Supplement*, December 14, 1878; "The Kindergarten," *Ibid.*, December 21; and "The Kindergarten: Its History and Progress," *Ibid.*, December 28, 1878.

31. Helen F. Benner, "Kate Douglas Wiggin's Country of Childhood," *University of Maine Bulletin*, LVIII (April 1, 1956), 19. This slender volume is the only biographical attempt to date, but it fails to deal effectively with Mrs. Wiggin's educational career. Primarily, it is a literary study, and at that, a poor one.

32. *Education*, II (May, 1882), 527.

33. "Kindergarten Work in California," *American Journal of Education*, XXX (September, 1880), 90-93, quoting the San Francisco *Herald*, July [n.d.], 1880. (A run of this newspaper does not include the aforementioned month. Reliance has to be placed on this reprint source.)

34. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, p. 119.

35. Smith, *Wiggin*, p. 33.

36. John Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York, 1911), p. 225;

Wiggin, *S.S.K. History*, pp. 11-12; Sarah B. Cooper, "The Growth of the Kindergarten," *Pacific Educational Journal*, III (July, 1888), 207-208.

37. Smith, *Wiggin*, p. 33.

38. "The California Kindergarten Union from which the California Froebel Society was an outgrowth, was organized in Berkeley, Calif., Nov. 8, 1879. Miss E[mma] Marwedel, Pres[iden]t, M[rs.] K[ate] D. Wiggin, Vice [President]. California Froebel Society was organized Nov. 17, 1883." See K[ate] D. Wiggin and N[ora] A. Smith, "Free Kindergarten Work on the Pacific Coast," *Scrapbooks* [5 vols.], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Vol. I, item 5. (Above quote, in K. D. Wiggin's hand, is inscribed on a printed announcement card.) Kate D. Wiggin was long active in the latter association. It became the mainstay for her normal training school.

39. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 159-160. (Italics in text.) Miller was so impressed by his visit that he wrote a special article, "A Day in a Kindergarten," which was published in the *Pacific Rural Press*, XXXV (January 28, 1888), 66. And visitors flocked to see the miracle.

During the year, 1879-1880, between "seventeen and eighteen hundred visitors, reporters from almost every newspaper in the State [California], and correspondents from many Eastern and foreign papers" visited the school. See Wiggin, *S.S.K. History*, p. 17.

40. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory*, pp. 127-128; Swett, *Public Education in California*, p. 225; Anna K. Stovall, "Sarah B. Cooper, 1834-1896," in *Pioneers of the Kindergarten in America*, pp. 270-279; [Sarah B. Cooper], *First Annual Report of the Jackson Street Free Kindergarten Association* (San Francisco, [1880]), pp. 5-6.

41. Miss Marwedel opened a like training school at 1711 Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco the same year. See Swift, *Marwedel*, p. 171. The U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report for 1883-1884* (Washington, 1885), p. 399, lists the "Pacific Kindergarten Normal School" as being established in 1876. What the report fails to make clear is the lapse of that school from 1877-1880, when Miss Marwedel was situated first in Oakland, then Berkeley, operating private kindergartens.

42. Smith, *Wiggin*, pp. 37-38.

43. Mrs. Wiggin's training school graduated 238 kindergarten teachers in its first decade. These women staffed schools throughout California and in many western states. Mrs. Caroline M. Dunlap (Class of '82) opened a branch of the training school in Portland, Oregon. See *California Kindergarten Training School* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 2-4. For the early educational influence of Silver Street, see Kate D. Wiggin, *The Free Kindergarten Work of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, [1883]), pp. 8-9, 32-33.

44. As early as 1880, San Francisco took the first initial step. See *American Journal of Education*, XXX (September, 1880), 902-903. This action was confirmed on a larger scale in the U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report for 1883-1884*, pp. 20, 432-435.

It was not, however, until 1892 that the principle was actually adopted. Los Angeles was the first California city to implement this idea (1890), followed by San Jose. See Kate D. Wiggin, *The Relation of the Kindergarten to the Public School* (San Francisco, 1891), p. 23.

45. The dedication to this second published book was to H. V. C., Miss Harriet V. Crocker, later Mrs. Charles B. Alexander, who generously provided funds for maintaining the Silver Street establishment. (For some unknown reason, the founding society withdrew its support when others assumed financial responsibility for Silver Street's operations in January, 1882. See *Report of the Public Kindergarten Society of San Francisco* [San Francisco, 1882], p. 5.) The slender narrative was privately printed in paper cover and sold for twenty-five cents, selling some 3,000 copies. Fortunately, since copyright was retained, Houghton Mifflin published it in 1889. Benner, *Wiggin,* pp. 25-26. It was simply a piece of "useful propaganda for the kindergarten movement.... The little book fulfilled its purpose; it was an undoubted success." As to its impact, nationally, see Smith, *Wiggin,* p. 173.

46. As to the extent of her continued service to the cause of the "New Education," including helping to form the New York Kindergarten Association and serving for a number of years as its vice-president, see Benner, *Wiggin,* pp. 46-47, 54-55, 114-116; Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory,* p. 164.

47. Smith, *Wiggin,* p. 113.

48. *Ibid.,* pp. 38-39, 111-113, 264. Fortunately, Miss Smith presented documents relating to Silver Street through 1897, bound in five scrapbooks, to the University of California, Berkeley. That source is by far the most comprehensive available. It contains the essential published reports and related printed sources. The scrapbooks are housed in the Bancroft Library.

49. Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory,* p. 166.

50. Noteworthy among their joint-authorship efforts, other than their collected materials for classroom use *(The Children's Crimson Classics* [8 vols.]), stands their educational contribution, *The Republic of Childhood* (3 vols.; Boston and New York, 1895-1897).

51. San Francisco *Morning Call,* March 15 and May 28, 1892; Ella S. Cummins, *Story of the Files* (San Francisco, 1893), pp. 350-351; Harold Williams, *Modern English Writers* (London, 1919), p. 479; Eric Howard, "Famous Californians: Kate Douglas Wiggin, Prima Donna of Literature," San Francisco *Call and Post,* December 2, 1922; Edgar J. Hinkel, ed., *Criticism of California Literature ...* (3 vols.; Oakland, 1940), II, 945-952.

The Writings of Kate Douglas Wiggin (Quillcote edition, 10 vols.; Boston and New York, 1917) contains her published works with the exception of her autobiography (1923), of *Homespun Tales* (Boston and New York, 1920), and of *Love By Express* (1924), which was posthumously published.

52. New York *Times,* August 25, 1923; Wiggin, *My Garden of Memory,* p. 443.

Olive Oatman's First Account of Her Captivity Among the Mohave

By A. L. Kroeber and Clifton B. Kroeber

Of the many atrocities in the annals of Western travel, one of the most famous was the attack on the Oatman family, along the Gila Trail about eighty miles east of Yuma, on March 18, 1851. Pushing ahead of his wagon train, against the advice of people in the neighborhood who feared Indian raiders, Royce Oatman was accosted by a band of Yavapai. He, his wife, and five children were killed; his son Lorenzo was left for dead; and two daughters, Olive and Mary, were carried away by the Yavapai. Friendly Indians soon found and saved Lorenzo, but Olive and Mary disappeared into the fastnesses of Arizona. After a year's time their captors sold them to the Mohave Indians; and, during a famine in Mohave Valley, Mary died of starvation.

In 1856, after negotiations carried on by Yuma Indians, Olive was brought to Fort Yuma and sold to the whites; and her story soon won lasting fame in a sensational narrative written by Reverend Royal B. Stratton of Yreka, California. His book quickly went through several

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A. L. Kroeber (1876-1960), an ethnologist, archaeologist, culture historian, and student of linguistics and other fields of human interest, was a native of New York City and studied for his doctorate at Columbia University. He was a member of the Anthropology Department of the University of California, Berkeley, 1901-1946, long director of its Museum of Anthropology, and a founder and early president of the American Anthropological Association. First visiting the Mohave in 1901, he studied them throughout his life; and he is remembered as an authority on Indians of California, of the Southwest, of Mexico, and of Peru. Author of several hundred articles and monographs, among his books were *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*, *Configurations of Culture Growth*, and *Style and Civilizations.*

Clifton B. Kroeber received a doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley, taught at the University of Wisconsin, and presently serves as associate professor of history at Occidental College.

editions,[1] its keynote being "Olive's misery among the degraded savages,"[2] with whom she had supposedly lived in constant danger of her life. Stratton seems to have wandered far beyond the facts in his account of this young girl and her Mohave captors who were, he thought, "living in all the filth and degradation of an unmitigated heathenism."[3] Nonetheless, his book is important in that it gives a detailed view of some aspects of the life of the Mohave just before they were subjected by the whites in 1858-59.[4]

The question remains, how reliable is Stratton's view of the Mohave's treatment of this white girl so suddenly come among them? Did the author report faithfully the information "Miss Olive" gave him shortly after her return from captivity, or did he embroider and romanticize her account? Is he right, for instance, when he has Olive say, soon after her arrival among the Mohave in 1852, that she had "sadly learned already that under friendly guises their possible treachery might be wrapping and nursing some foul and murderous design?" Or, when he pictures little Mary Ann in her extremity of hunger, that she was "fading, withering, and wasting at the touch of cold cruelty?"[5]

Of the documents pertinent to these questions, none bears out the Stratton account in its basic tenor. The interviews with Olive published by the Los Angeles *Star*, April 19, 1856,[6] and by San Francisco's *Evening Bulletin* on June 24, 1856, do not picture her life among the Mohave as dangerous or degrading. Nor yet does the brief account by the Mohave TokwaOa, "Musk Melon," who accompanied her from his tribal village to Fort Yuma in 1856[7] and who, forty-seven years later, told his story to the white man. Other available documents collected by Alice B. Maloney[8] do not directly shed light on the reliability of Stratton's narrative.

Now we have, reproduced below, what must be the first interview that Olive Oatman gave, after her return from captivity. On the very next day after her arrival at Fort Yuma, its commandant, Captain Martin Burke, interrogated her;[9] and, as will be seen, he put his questions cautiously, and Olive's answers were recorded and examined with watchful care. That is, Burke set down an answer only where he believed that Olive had clearly understood the question and was making a response of her own rather than simply following a lead.

In transcribing this questionnaire we have added notes wherever the

Stratton, TokwaOa, Los Angeles *Star*, or *Evening Bulletin* accounts do not agree with the substance of what Olive told Captain Burke on the last day of February, 1856.

> The following questions having been put to Miss Oatman in such manner as to imply personal curiosity of her treatment whilst among the Indians, [we] received the answers opposite each question, but her memory being very defective apparently, and [she] not able to pronounce more than a few words in English, it has been very difficult to obtain [more] at the present time, for in answering questions purposely put [framed] directly opposite, she invariably says "Yes" to both.
>
> 1. Do you recollect your father's name? — She answered distinctly, "Oatman."
> 2. Do you know the name of the tribe who killed your parents? — She answered distinctly, "Apaches."[10]
> 3. Do you recollect the names of your sisters and brothers? — Answered, "Yes. Lucy and Mary and Lorenzo."[11]
> 4. What is your own name? — Answered, "Olivino."[12]
> 5. What became of Lucy? And was she married? — Lucy was killed with her husband by the Apaches at the same time as her parents.
> 6. What became of Mary? — Taken with myself by the Apaches.
> 7. Whilst among the Apaches did they use you well? — No. They whipped me.[13]
> 8. How old were you when taken? — Eleven years.[14]
> 9. How old was Mary? And was she younger? — About 5 years, and she was younger.
> 10. How long did you remain with the Apaches? — One year.
> 11. Do you know the names of any other tribe? — Yes, Mohave.[15]
> 12. After you left the Apache, to what tribe did you go? — Mohave.
> 13. What did you leave for? Did they sell you? — Was sold for some blankets and beads and 2 horses.[16]
> 14. Who bought you? — Mohaves.
> 15. Was your sister Mary sold at the same time with you? — Yes.
> 16. How did you travel from the Apache Country to the Mohave? Did you walk or ride? — Walked.[17]
> 17. What direction did you walk from the Apache to the Mohave? — She motioned with her hand indicating from the East to the North, crossing the Colorado a distance above.[18]
> 18. How many days did you walk, 5, 10, 15, 20? — Answered "More" to all, but could not recollect how many.[19]
> 19. I suppose you were tired. Do the squaws of the Indians walk when journeying? — Yes.[20]
> 20. Did you ever leave the Mohave tribe for any other till you came here? — No.
> 21. Did your sister Mary live with you all the time? — Yes.

22. How did the Mohaves treat you and your sister? —Answered, "Very well." (From her manner seemed perfectly pleased.) They had never whipped her but always treated her well.[21]

23. What has become of your sister Mary? —Dead.

24. How old was she? And when did she die? —She could not tell her age but motioned she was much smaller than herself and that she died one year ago.

25. Was Mary sick? or how did she die? —Answered distinctly "Starved."

26. Did the Mohaves give you plenty to eat? —Yes.[22]

27. Did your sister Mary live in the same manner as you? —Yes.

28. What did they give you to eat? —Answered distinctly "Wheat, pumpkins, and fish," and laughed when asked if "Musquite also?" but said "Yes."[23]

29. Did Mary have the same to eat? Was she sick? —Answered in each case "Yes," but made indication that she was smaller than herself.

30. Would you know your brother? Can you recollect how he looked? —Answered "Yes," and intimated that he looked like herself.

Many other questions have been put to her which her manner was convincing she could not comprehend, but she still would reply (with a slight nod of the head), "Yes."

Fort Yuma, California.
March 1st 1856

Along with the points specifically discussed in this first interview, two other matters deserve comment. One is Stratton's assertion of Mohave threats to Olive, that if she and her sister should try to escape the tribe they would "torment us in the most painful manner,"[24] or worse. Likewise, the tattooing to which they (like all Mohave women) had been subjected was, according to Stratton, for the purpose of identification in case they should be stolen by some other tribe. We may doubt this whole trend in Stratton's account, since Olive said to the Los Angeles *Star* that "The Mohaves always told her she could go to the white settlements when she pleased but they dared not go with her, fearing they might be punished for having kept a white woman so long among them, nor did they dare to let it be known that she was among them. . . ."[25]

The other point is, and may well remain, a mystery. During the time when Olive was with the tribe, Lieutenant Amiel Whipple led his Pacific Railroad exploration party through Mohave Valley (February, 1854); yet neither he nor Olive gave sign that they were aware of each other's presence.[26] Was she in hiding voluntarily or by force?

COMMENT, BY A. L. KROEBER

It is clear from this firsthand interrogatory that Olive was more immature during her Mohave years than the Stratton account suggests. It is easy to see how this came about: a nubile girl captive among savages is a much more titillating subject than a child. She was a child of eleven when captured, of twelve when she reached the Mohave, and she makes the impression of being barely adolescent when recovered.

It is also clear that her English had become very rusty after five years. It would be interesting to know whether she and Mary continued to the end to speak it among themselves ordinarily when alone. I should be very doubtful that they had. A few weeks among Americans no doubt brought back a fairly fluent control of English.[27] But it is obvious that when she first came into Yuma she spoke much better Mohave.

A third point is her manifest timidity or bashfulness, the tendency to answer "yes" to everything. This is reminiscent of a sixteen-year-old Indian girl suddenly brought into a white audience.

It is plain that by 1856 Olive was pretty much accultured to Mohave living. She must have retained many memories of her eleven American years, as she retained some English; but for five years there had been nothing to implement or nourish these remembrances, while new experiences and activities more and more overlaid them. And these experiences brought nothing trying or terrifying with them. All the Mohave were interested in her and friendly, as to a pet; the women of her household were strongly affectionate. As a poor immigrant's child from a rural environment she had known nothing of standards of comfort, let alone luxury, and the relaxed pace of Mohave living would have seemed congenial. Had she come to them earlier, a few additional years with the Mohave might have made the return to American civilization troublesome and terrifying, a thing to be avoided, especially had she married and had children.

There is too little record of her adult life for us to judge whether it could be called a happy one; but there is every indication that her Mohave years were reasonably so.

NOTES

1. Royal B. Stratton, *Life Among the Indians, or: The Captivity of the Oatman Girls, Among the Apache & Mohave Indians in 1851* . . . (San Francisco, 1857; 2nd ed., 1857). The 3rd edition (New York, 1858) was considerably revised and expanded; its title begins with *Captivity of the Oatman Girls* . . .; and there were later editions and abridgments. Most recently, with the original title, and with a scholarly introduction by Lindley Bynum, another edition was published at San Francisco in 1935.

In this present article, the introductory statements and notes are by Clifton B. Kroeber; the terminal discussion is by the late A. L. Kroeber.

2. Stratton, *op. cit.*, 3rd ed., p. 279. Hereinafter, citations of this work signify the 3rd ed.

3. As characterized in A. L. Kroeber, "Olive Oatman's Return," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, 4 (Berkeley, 1951), p. 13.

4. This brief conflict began with the Mohave's ambush of an immigrant train crossing the Colorado at about the 35th parallel (Beale's Crossing), in August, 1858. For these events, see Leonard J. Rose, *L. J. Rose of Sunnyslope, 1827-1899, California Pioneer* . . . (San Marino, 1959).

5. For these quotations, Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 and 211.

6. Thus, more than a month after her return to the whites. The reporter saw her at El Monte where she was staying with friends. He wrote a short, clear, synthetic account of the interview, which was widely copied in other newspapers in the state. See William B. Rice, "The Captivity of Olive Oatman, a Newspaper Account," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXI (June, 1942), 97-106.

7. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-8, gives the TokwaOa account. Kroeber states that most of the elderly Mohave remembered Olive Oatman well, but at first none would speak of her for fear (probably) of recriminations from the whites. Finally, "Musk Melon" told the story, through an interpreter, at Needles in late June, 1903.

8. Reproduced, from copies in The Bancroft Library, University of California, in her article "Some Oatman Documents," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXI (June, 1942), 107-112. These include testimony by people who were at Fort Yuma before and at the time of Olive's return, including the surviving brother, Lorenzo; but none of these people were in position to know anything directly of Olive's stay in Mohave Valley.

9. Captain [Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel] Martin Burke to Captain D. R. Jones, Fort Yuma, California, March 1, 1856, in National Archives of the United States, Records of the War Department, U. S. Army Commands, from Department of California—Fort Yuma, B-25.

10. Almost all whites in the Southwest at that time used "Apache" to include the Yavapai. Olive's response here may also indicate that the Mohave, who had

had extensive contact with the whites, were already using this euphemism when talking with whites. Almost all writers of the time agreed that it was "Apache" who seized the Oatman girls. See, for a few instances, Stratton, *op. cit.*, p. 168; J. Ross Browne, *A Tour Through Arizona*... (ed. of Tucson, 1951; orig. publ. 1864), pp. 93, 95, 96, 98; and John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Exploration and Incidents*... (New York, 1854), II, 218. See also Jacob P. Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains*... (New York, 1886), p. 173.

But these were Yavapai, if we rely on TokwaOa (in Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 10). The Tonto Apache, most frequently accused of this attack, ranged farther to the east, whereas bands of Yavapai lived and raided in this very neighborhood. Furthermore, the Mohave would not be likely to trail all the way to Tonto Basin to trade; the Tontos were not friends, whereas the Yavapai were traditional allies and were visited frequently by Mohave.

11. She had forgotten how many there had been in the family. To the *Evening Bulletin*, four months later, she still said only "three brothers and three sisters."

12. The Mohave still knew her, in 1903, as Aliutman.

13. Stratton emphasizes this wherever he mentions it at all; so also the *Star* reporter ("They were overtasked, and when they could not understand what was said to them, they were beaten"). I take this to have been true. To the *Evening Bulletin*, she said they were "compelled" to work, carrying wood and water "from several miles around the camp."

14. Probably thirteen, as likewise stated by the *Star* (Olive, 13; Mary Ann, 7), Lorenzo Oatman in Maloney, *op. cit.*, and the *Evening Bulletin*, where Olive flatly stated she was born in 1838 and was 13 at time of capture.

15. She knew also the Cocopa name, as appears at various points in Stratton's account.

16. Stratton, *op. cit.*, p. 159: "Two horses, a few vegetables, a few pounds of beads, and three blankets." In the *Star:* "A few pounds of beads, two horses, and two blankets." In the *Evening Bulletin:* "Ten horses, two blankets, and a quantity of beads."

17. Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff., has the same; but he says they went about 35 miles per day after travelling even faster the first couple of days. This seems unlikely with little Mary walking, and it would make the total journey over 350 miles where it was more like 150. In the *Evening Bulletin*, Olive stated "on foot three hundred and fifty miles."

18. Stratton and the *Star* overstate the distance, which they call 350 miles in a northwesterly direction. So it may have seemed to Olive; so she stated in June 1856 (*supra*, note 17).

19. Stratton, *op. cit.*, p. 162: "On the eleventh day, about two hours before sunset," they saw Mohave Valley before them. This seems the more likely: eleven days, with the girls travelling slowly, would have brought them to the valley. Similarly stated by the *Star*, which makes it ten days' travel, as did Olive in the *Evening Bulletin*.

20. Likewise stated by Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-166. The chief's daughter, "Topeka," also walked the whole weary way.

21. Stratton, *op. cit.*, as at pp. 168, 173, 203, 211, gives the opposite impression. For us, the "truth" might lie between his extreme statements and Olive's as given here to Captain Burke. The girls had to work as did other women, had to gather food and in so doing to take long overland trips at times; and they suffered those famines that regularly overtook the Mohave's river-overflow-planting way of agriculture. During one such shortage of food Mary died of starvation. TokwaOa was told, however, through the Yuma interpreter at Fort Yuma, that Olive had reported to Captain Burke substantially what we have seen above: "... they treated us well. There was not much to eat, but I helped them, and got used to it and got along with them. They saved my life ..." (presumably, from death among the Yavapai who had held her during 1851). The *Evening Bulletin* reports Olive as saying: "when we arrived at the Mohave village, Aspenosay, the chief of the tribe, took us as adopted children, and we were treated as members of his family. . . ."

22. Stratton, *op. cit.*, p. 185, gives a distinctly contrary impression, although his own text, pp. 185 ff. and elsewhere, recounts many trips to gather food, as well as Olive planting seed given her by a friendly Indian woman. TokwaOa, in Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 3, recounts that upon her arrival among them the local Mohave chief adjured his people: "Let everyone help raise them! If they are sick, tend them! Treat them well!" And, TokwaOa continued: "So I saw and knew they were happy living here, for three, four, five years perhaps, more—I did not keep track of the time."

23. Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff., mentions a teneta tree from which they gathered an oth-to-toa berry; at p. 201, a root, or "ground nut;" and, at p. 203, perhaps the same again, a "ground seed," much like "serececa." As for Olive laughing at this question, perhaps she found it funny that anyone might have "given" her mesquite. This was a laborious gathering process at which all women worked, especially when other food ran short.

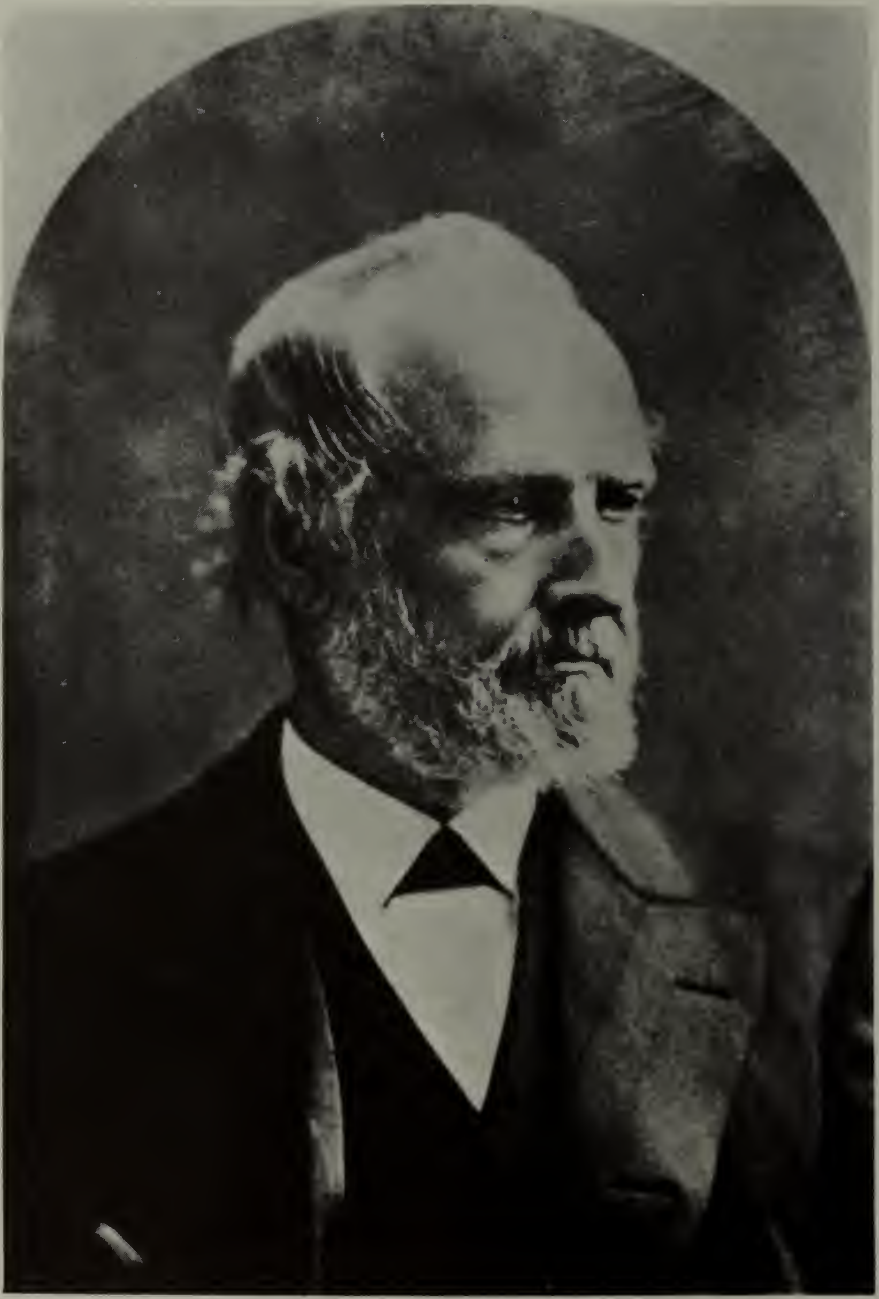
24. Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183. This also involves his heart-rending account of the crucifixion of a beautiful Cocopa woman captive who tried to escape the Mohave while Olive was among them—and which we consider aprocryphal at least in part. See Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-18.

25. April 19, 1856. And, when Olive was on the point of leaving Fort Yuma: "... many of the Indians, however, objected to her going, fearing they would be punished as her captors." She was sold to the whites for "6 lbs. white beads, four blankets, and other trinkets," as she said to the *Star;* or, "two blankets and seven pounds of beads," to the *Evening Bulletin.* Stratton's views on when and why the girls were tattooed are to be dismissed as his invention. To the *Evening Bulletin,* Olive implied that she was tattooed as soon as she arrived among the Mohave, and by the chief's order.

26. See Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 13, where he suggests the possibility that Stratton

might have suppressed any reference (if any there was) in Olive's own account—since, if Olive had hidden voluntarily, it would not have accorded with the tenor of his book.

27. About a month later, when the *Star* reporter visited her, he stated that: "This account was obtained only by asking questions, as her timidity and want of confidence prevented her from giving the details unassisted. Her faculties have been somewhat impaired by her way of life, but . . . she has made very perceptible improvement [since returning to the whites]." By the time of her *Evening Bulletin* interview in late June, the reporter, who was able to copy her brief account entire, without prompting, makes no remark about timidity or backwardness on Olive's part.



Peter H. Burnett, First American Governor of California
Courtesy of The Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

A Forgotten Chapter in California History:

Peter H. Burnett and John A. Sutter's Fortune

By WILLIAM E. FRANKLIN

JOHN SUTTER'S FINANCIAL FIASCO in the midst of the prosperity of the California gold rush has been examined by several writers, but the fact that in the summer of 1849 Sutter not only was solvent but retained real estate worth a fortune has been overshadowed by the chaotic later financial events in his life. Credit for Sutter's solvency goes to Peter H. Burnett, who a few months later became the first governor of the state of California. That Sutter could have prospered had he conducted his business affairs wisely seems conclusively proved by Burnett's parlaying the property he received as fees from Sutter into a considerable fortune. The account of Burnett's association with Sutter during the trying months of 1849 constitutes a heretofore forgotten chapter in California history.

Peter H. Burnett, a former Missouri attorney and businessman, had striven unsuccessfully for fame and fortune in Oregon Territory for five years prior to the discovery of gold in 1848.[1] When the exciting news reached Oregon, he led the rush from that territory to the diggings, arriving at Long's Bar on the Yuba River on November 5, 1848.[2] A few weeks of back-breaking, but profitless, labor convinced him that few miners would dig more than day-wages from the gold fields; consequently he turned again to the legal profession. A few days before Christmas, 1848, he opened a law office in the burgeoning new town of Sacramento.[3] He prospered from the first. The Sacramento real

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estate boom required the services of lawyers to draft and to copy in longhand the documents conveying real estate from one owner to another. (It was some time before printed titles and deeds were available.) Also, the considerable litigation over titles was frequently more lucrative to the lawyers than to the litigants.

Simultaneously the Sutters—father and son—frantically sought to escape complete financial ruin. About the middle of November, 1848, John August Sutter had transferred all of his property to his son, John August Sutter, Jr., to escape the threatened attachment of the property by the Russian American Fur Company in payment of the balance due from the Fort Ross-Bodega Bay sale of 1841.[4] Late in December, Sutter, Jr., recognizing the need for counsel, asked three prominent Sacramentans, P. B. Reading, Samuel J. Hensley, and James King of William, to suggest a reliable agent. They unanimously recommended Burnett.[5]

Peter Burnett possessed excellent qualifications for the task Sutter outlined to him. Sutter needed an agent to develop his father's widespread business and real estate holdings, including the embryo town of Sacramento City. Business experience in Missouri and an unsuccessful town-building venture in Oregon had shown Burnett many of the pitfalls in the path of the townsite speculator and provided him with valuable training in the rough and tumble of frontier town-building.[6]

After considering the offer, Burnett agreed to become Sutter's agent if, as his fee, he should receive one-fourth of the proceeds from the sale of *all* the town lots in Sacramento City.[7] The wording of the agreement was later to cause animosity on Sutter's part, but at the moment he accepted the terms and Burnett assumed his duties on December 30, 1848.

Burnett had no prescience that he was plunging headlong into a smoldering feud between August Sutter and his father. He did realize, however, that the chaotic condition of the Sutter finances necessitated the immediate payment of the most pressing debts or their entire assets would soon be frozen in litigation.[8] To facilitate Burnett's agency, Sutter, Jr., gave him his power of attorney on January 18, 1849, authorizing him to sell Sacramento City town lots "at prices as he my said attorney in his discretion may think right."[9]

Sacramento City—August Sutter's dream city—lay incompletely surveyed on the oak-dotted fields between Sutter's Fort and the *embarcadero* when August retained Burnett. A few surveyors' stakes in the ground marked the "city."[10] This was Burnett's element. He throve on the excitement and bustle of frontier speculation. The survey completed, Burnett began promoting the sale of lots. Buyers vied with each other for choice sites as the sales campaign was successfully launched with an auction on January 8, 1849.[11]

But Burnett's problems were far from solved. His first inkling of the seriousness of the rift between the Sutters came when, late in January, John Sutter, angry with his son and Burnett for promoting a competitive city to his own beloved Sutterville a few miles down the river, passed through Sacramento City *en route* to San Francisco without contacting either August or Burnett.[12] George McDougall and other Sutterville supporters had capitalized on Sutter's jealousy of his own pet projects and led him to believe that August and Burnett were defrauding him. Later, in San Francisco, they plied him heavily with wine and persuaded him to agree to deed them a large plot of land adjoining Sutterville on the north. To guarantee their nefarious transaction they wrested from the wine-befogged Sutter a bond for $20,000 payable if August refused to deliver the deed.[13] This, added to the other heavy demands upon the Sutter finances, gravely jeopardized their already precarious status.

Thus armed, the Sutterville promoters, led by George and John McDougall, now contrived to lure the leading business firms away from Sacramento City. In March, while Burnett was in San Francisco encouraging newly-arrived immigrants to settle in Sacramento City, the promoters offered several of the leading businessmen of Sacramento City—including Brannan, Hensley, Reading, Priest, and Lee—two hundred town lots each to move their businesses (and influence) to Sutterville.[14] August arrived home from Hock Farm late one evening to be met at the *embarcadero* by Henry Schoolcraft, who explained the impending crisis. Unable to confer with Burnett, August rushed to his father's office at the fort where Sam Brannan displayed his letter from the promoters. August vacillated briefly and then accepted his father's advice that he would be forced to abandon the Sacramento City venture if he did not match the McDougalls' offer.[15] Burnett met a *fait accompli* when he returned.

Despite these obstacles and others inherent in Sutter's personal habits, Burnett paid the debts one by one. First to be paid was that to the Russian American Fur Company. Soon after Burnett assumed charge of the Sutter accounts, William M. Steuart of San Francisco, the company's attorney, demanded payment of the seven-year-old debt, again threatening to attach the Sutter property to assure payment. Aware that an attachment would be ruinous, Burnett gave his personal pledge that the company would be paid in full and on April 13, 1849, paid the balance of $19,788 in gold and notes.[16] Burnett firmly believed that his personal pledge had saved the Sutters from "great financial embarrassment if not from final ruin."[17] By the end of June the most pressing debts had been paid; in August the last debt was paid.[18]

Late in May, August Sutter became ill and went to Hock Farm with his father, Archibald Peachy, and Henry A. Schoolcraft to recuperate. While August lay weak with fever, Sutter persuaded him to reconvey all the property. He then dismissed Burnett and appointed Peachy and Schoolcraft as his agents in San Francisco and Sacramento respectively.[19] Neither the Sutters nor their agents notified Burnett of his dismissal so he continued to sell lots until July 3.[20]

Burnett refused to be dismissed without an adequate settlement. By the terms of his original agreement with the Sutters, "said John A. Sutter, Jr., stipulated on his part to place all the town property in Sacramento City in the hands of said Burnett for sale."[21] Burnett demanded a settlement for the unsold lands. On July 24 John A. Sutter agreed that Burnett should close all sales he had made before notification of his dismissal, that he should advance $10,000 to be used to pay the long-standing Sunol debt, and that in return he should receive "certain town lots" in Sacramento City. The advance for the Sunol debt was to be repaid from Sutter's portion of the notes as they were collected. The "certain town lots" mentioned in the settlement were 82 square city blocks plus 109 lots in various parts of the city.[22] The settlement satisfied Burnett; Sutter seems to have been agreeable at the time but later became convinced that Burnett was another of those who had swindled him.[23]

It is impossible accurately to evaluate the property Burnett received in the settlement. In August, 1849, however, he sold an undivided half of his Sacramento property to an acquaintance for $50,000.[24] In the list of the first taxes paid in Sacramento, P. H. Burnett and Burnett, Ferguson & Company paid a total of $15,467.[25] This tax was calculated at the rate of four and one-half per cent of the assessed valuation; accordingly the assessed value of Burnett's property was $343,711. It has not been possible to determine the ratio of assessed value to actual market value, but Burnett's total assets in the year 1851 were at least $393,711.

As one reviews the events of these few months in 1849 and notes the subsequent financial success of Burnett—he retired from active business in 1854—the Sutters' financial disaster at the same time becomes almost inexplicable. Burnett established a fortune on the proceeds from one-fourth of the Sacramento City lots. Sutter failed utterly although he retained the remaining lots plus the remainder of his eleven league Spanish grant and the Fort Ross-Bodega Bay holdings purchased from the Russian American Fur Company. Most important, in August, 1849, he was debt free, thanks to the business acumen of Burnett.

The answer, of course, is to be found in the character of California at the time and in the character of John A. Sutter, himself. His moral debility undoubtedly affected his business judgment; eventually he lost everything.

How different the Sutter story might have been if Burnett had not been dismissed!

NOTES

1. William E. Franklin, "The Political Career of Peter Hardeman Burnett" (Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1954). Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), pp. 177-354 *passim;* Charles H. Carey, *A General History of Oregon Prior to 1861* (Portland, Oregon, 1935); Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1886); Oregon City *Oregon Spectator,* 1846-1848.

2. Burnett, *Recollections,* pp. 273-274; San Francisco *California Star and Californian,* Dec. 2 and 9, 1848.

3. San Francisco *Alta California,* Oct. 23, 1866; Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 287.

4. Burnett to Sutter, Jr., Jan. 18, 1894, quoted in John August Sutter, Jr., *Statement Regarding Early California Experiences,* ed. Allan R. Ottley (Sacramento, 1943), p. 13n. Sutter wrote and first published this statement in 1855.

5. John A. Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* pp. 92-93; John F. Morse, M.D., *The First History of Sacramento City,* ed. Caroline Wenzel (Sacramento, 1945), p. 23. Morse first published this account in 1853. See Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 387.

6. Burnett to Penn, July 25, 1844, *The Niles Register,* LXVII (1845), 343; Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 138.

7. Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* pp. 92-93; Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 387.

8. Burnett to Sutter, Jr., Jan. 18, 1894, quoted in Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 13n.

9. Sacramento County, *Powers of Attorney,* Vol. A, pp. 25-26; Sacramento County, *Deed Books,* Vol. A, pp. 40-41, quoted in Sutter Jr., *Statement,* p. 19.

10. *Ibid.;* Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 293.

11. Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 21.

12. *Ibid.,* pp. 24; 93-94.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.,* p. 98.

15. *Ibid.;* Morse, *First History of Sacramento,* pp. 24-25, inaccurately linked Burnett with the promoters, but Burnett was in San Francisco at the time and was not a party to the conspiracy.

16. Burnett to Sutter, Jr., Jan. 18, 1894, quoted in Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 27.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 335.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.;* Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 29.

21. Sacramento County, *Deed Books,* Vol. C, p. 250, cited in Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 30.

22. *Ibid.,* pp. 250-255.

23. Gudde, *Sutter's Own Story,* p. 222, quoted in Sutter, Jr., *Statement,* p. 30.

24. Burnett, *Recollections,* p. 341.

25. Morse, *First History of Sacramento,* p. 116.

Rivera at San Francisco:
A Journal of Exploration, 1774

Translated by ALAN K. BROWN

CAPTAIN DON FERNANDO JAVIER DE RIVERA Y MONCADA, so far as records can assure us, was the first explorer to visit the place where San Francisco is or to stand on the shore of the Golden Gate.[1] The fact is not usually allowed to stand to the credit of his name, and his own account of the exploration has not been translated or printed.

The published information on Rivera's early life is sparse. The man himself later wrote that he had first entered the royal military service in 1742. This can scarcely have meant anything but the Californias Company of Loreto, a most irregular little unit stationed right at the end of the known world, and a part of the King's forces only by a fiction. The men were both chosen and paid by the Jesuit missionaries whose country it was, and the captaincy, to which Rivera succeeded as early as 1750, earned no more than the lowest ranks. From their main garment and only uniform (a somewhat antique one even then), the company was less formally known as the Buff-jerkin Troop.[2]

Rivera's service in that difficult country was long, and evidently most satisfactory to his employers. He captained the explorations of the Jesuit Father Consag in 1751 and 1753, and earned great praise from the missionary.[3] In 1766 another Jesuit explorer, Wenceslao Linck, notes at the beginning of his journal that Rivera's burning zeal for the interests of God and the King have been well known for years.[4] Six years later, long after any motive for flattery had vanished, a book

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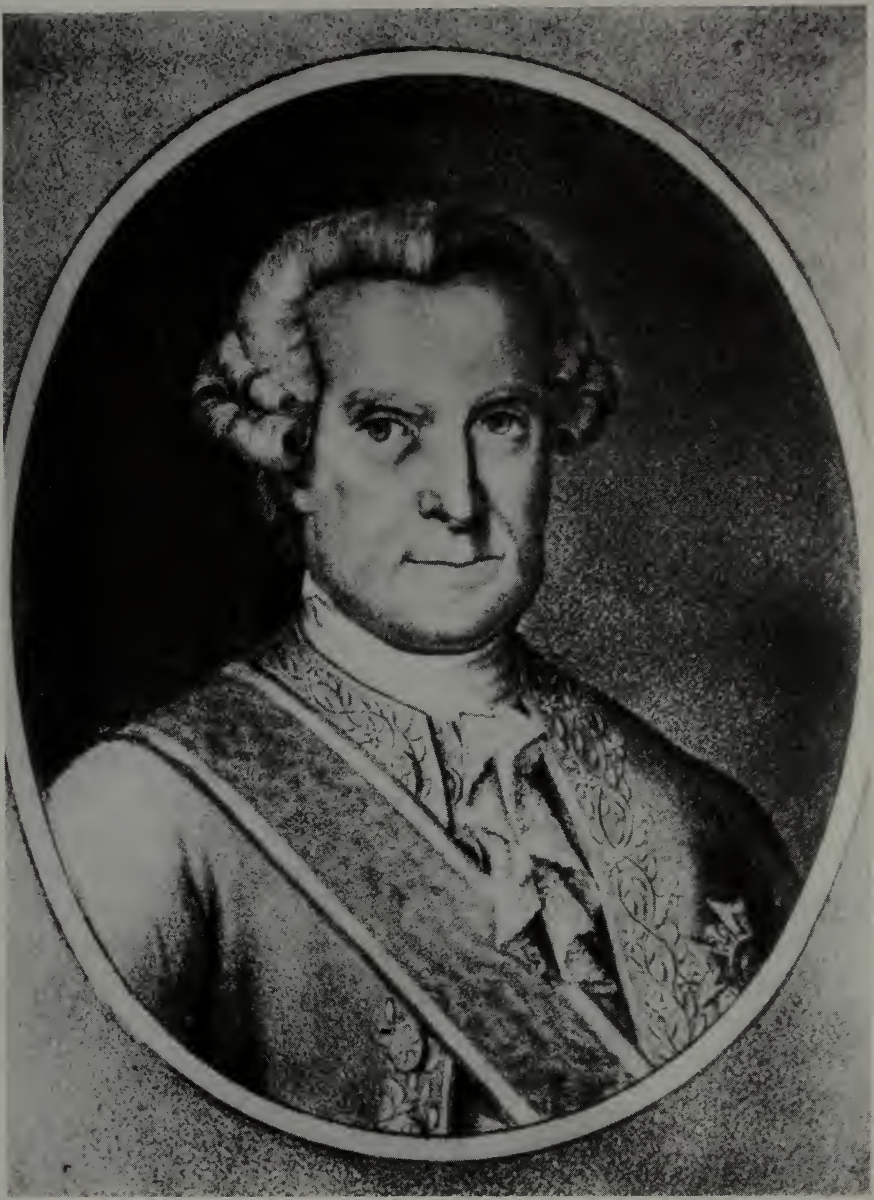
by a Jesuit published in Germany gave the very highest praise to Rivera's professional and personal character.[5]

It is unlikely that the subject of this last tribute ever came to hear of it, for at the end of 1767 the Jesuits were summarily expelled by the King's pragmatic sanction, and Captain Rivera, after twenty-five years with his company, found himself placed under the command of a captain of the regular army fresh from Spain with a troop of dragoons. The dragoons were found useless in the country and shipped back across the Gulf of California, but their Captain, Gaspar de Portolá y de Rovira, stayed on with an appointment as governor.

In the following year the visitor-general, José de Gálvez, arrived with viceregal powers and a project of expeditions to the north. That high official found Rivera y Moncada's participation obviously necessary, and the captain's formal instructions were couched in the most flattering terms. He was to go as second expedition commander under the governor, with command over both his own soldiers and militiamen who were to be brought from the mainland, and was placed in charge of preparing and provisioning the land expedition and making military settlements between the frontier and San Diego; beyond San Diego his party was to go a week or ten days ahead of the main body, leading the way and pacifying the Indians. In the event of a successful arrival and establishment at Monterey Harbor, his service would not be without reward.[6]

Things did not turn out in quite this way. Rivera permanently forfeited Gálvez' favor—never a difficult thing to do—by delay in setting out from the northern frontier. The expedition ran into difficulties and had to proceed overland north of San Diego in one body. Rivera's pioneering command became a matter of taking charge of some of the worse jobs, such as building a trail over the Santa Lucia Mountains, or exploring the coast between Carmel and the Sur on horseback. Yet it appears that because of his nominal assignment, Rivera was blamed for what was undoubtedly the governor's fault if it was anyone's—the missing of Monterey in 1769.[7]

Early in 1770 it became clear that certain ambiguities in Gálvez' instructions to Rivera y Moncada and to Lieutenant Pedro Fages (commander of the Catalan Volunteers that had replaced the proposed militia) would require Fages to remain as commander at Monterey;



José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain
Courtesy of The Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

the Captain would obviously have to reside somewhere else, and was left with no official reason for taking part or credit in the new foundation. Rivera, the sole American among the officers of the expedition, was the only one to be passed over in the resulting promotions. He had always been popular with his men, but he was now forced to leave many of them under the command of Fages, who worked them unmercifully and openly despised and mistrusted them.[8]

From Lower California, on March 2, 1770, Rivera wrote the Viceroy asking permission to retire on grounds of pains and bad health brought on either by his advancing years, the frigid northern climates to which he had been recently exposed, or the toil of twenty-eight years' service.[9] A year later he referred to himself as being still sick and as thin as a string.[10] As it happened, however, a short period of retirement to his native district on the mainland of New Spain landed him in debt, and the government, being informed of the fact and in need of an officer to succeed Fages in the distant Monterey establishments, offered to reinstate Rivera in the service if he would take the job.

The rest of Rivera y Moncada's career as commander in Upper California and lieutenant-governor in Lower California, until his death among the Yumas in 1781, is well known. His slowness in founding new settlements was attended by inexcusable behavior to the Franciscans who had inherited the missionary field from the Jesuits, and, more especially, to Juan Bautista de Anza in 1776. Rivera's caution is usually measured by Junípero Serra's great zeal: it is worth remembering that Rivera was nearly the only one who had been in California soon enough after the great uprising of the 1730's to have a vivid idea of what the most naked and apparently contemptible savages could do, once they were aroused. In the case of the Yuma Massacre, what Rivera most dreaded at last happened. Since it cost him his life, it seems particularly unnecessary to believe that the disaster was somehow caused by uncharacteristic carelessness on his part.

A Queretaran friar wrote a curt obituary-note on Rivera: he was an intelligent country-cousin who knew the character of the Indians well, but was short of skill and understanding in delicate matters (that is, in his relations with the colonial hierarchy).[11] It is understandable that the arrival of Captain (soon Lieutenant-Colonel) Anza in the aging frontier captain's bailiwick may have seemed like a repetition of the events of 1767 and 1770, when superior authority had interfered drastically and in an irregular manner with his career and command. It was, however, the question of settlements at San Francisco that was the immediate cause of Rivera's quarrel with Anza.

One clause of Rivera y Moncada's general instructions, dated at Mexico City on August 17, 1773, ran:

> ... In view of the fact that the Harbor of San Francisco, though already reconnoitred, requires further examination, the Commandant shall hereafter dispose the proper means to effect it, for the purpose of deliberating in accord with the Father President [of the Missions] upon whether it is possible to found a Mission there.[12]

What was substantially the same order was repeated in the Viceroy's letter of May 25, 1774, to the acting president of the missions; the letter was brought to Rivera's attention at Monterey in August by Father Serra, already an unwelcome channel of communication where the commandant was concerned. Rivera appears to have delayed pending the arrival of a party from Lower California with sufficient pack animals, though Serra stated that even after these were on hand he had to request the exploration in writing before Rivera would start.[13]

If the ostensible chronology of the entries in the journal translated here can be trusted, Rivera had already decided that the tip of the San Francisco peninsula was no fit place for a settlement before, as he puts it, really seeing it. In fact, his opinion must have been based on a view from the mountains back of present Millbrae in 1769. In letters written at the time of the first expedition, he had been moderately enthusiastic about the San Francisco area, but from his recommendations in this journal it seems he was referring to the area around the expedition's base camp at present Palo Alto. A skepticism not unallied to Rivera's own is expressed in a letter of May 5, 1775, from his old sergeant, José Francisco Ortega, who had not seen the San Francisco area since 1769. Ortega wrote to warn Rivera that Anza was said to be on the way with instructions to establish a presidio at the San Francisco harbor, "where, without launches, I can't tell how we can cross. The thing is a far leap forward—we will need the hand of Providence to bring it off.... I am very sorry that [you] should want to retire."[14]

Against the recommendations of Rivera and his religious companion

Francisco Palóu, Serra at once decided that a mission should be founded at the mouth of the San Francisco "estuary," that is, at the Golden Gate, for easier access to the other side, where he still wished to reach the true inner harbor or port of San Francisco.[15] At the end of June, 1775, he evidently found his wishes supported by the naval officers who brought Mexico City's decision to fortify the bay.[16] Except by Rivera, it seems to have been accepted from then on that a presidio and mission were to be established close by each other at the end of the peninsula.

A case could be made out for Rivera's objections to the site as far as the material basis for a settlement was concerned. Had he turned east from the entrance of the bay on December 4, 1774, he would have discovered a few live oaks at the foot of the hills back of the present Marina;[17] but apart from these, the supply of timber was nearly as bad as his journal claims. For at least forty years afterward, building supplies had to be brought thirty miles from the redwoods near present Woodside. The lack of land and consequent crowding of mission and presidio herds proved even more serious. A half century of running litigation produced few solutions, and overgrazing had started the spectacular erosion in the sandhills district of northern San Mateo County well before American times.

Rivera y Moncada's San Francisco exploration took previously untravelled routes only between certain points on the San Francisco peninsula, a total of about 40 miles out of the full 252 travelled in 21 days. Even if the expedition had gone on, as was planned, to explore the rivers at the upper end of the bay, it is unlikely anything more would have been discovered than had been found by Fages' exploration of 1772. Rivera's contemporaries, who were experts in the subject, found a certain characteristic overcautiousness in his style of trail-breaking,[18] and examples can be collected from the present journal.

The existence of the journal has been known for some time,[19] though the accessibility of a lengthy diary of the same exploration kept by Father Francisco Palóu seems to have hindered its use.[20] The Rivera journal, containing about 3,800 words, is only about three-tenths the length of Palóu's, but it has much more than a proportionate amount of useful information. In spite of Rivera's apology to the Viceroy, his ability to write a formal account was not negligible, and his observations on the country and the Indians are often perceptive.

The text translated is based on two nearly identical copies made by the same hand at Mexico City in 1775, and now available on microfilm in the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.[21]

Journal of the Sally and Reconnoissance of the Harbor of San Francisco Made by the Commandant of the New Establishments of Californias, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

November the 23d, 1774. At two o'clock in the afternoon Father Fray Francisco Palóu, thirteen soldiers and three paid servants set out from the presidio. I stayed behind with three soldiers; it must have been eleven o'clock at night when I came up with them where they had stopped on the banks of the river, distance three leagues and a half.[22]

[November] 24th. At seven o'clock in the morning the Father and I with eight soldiers in the lead crossed the river, followed at once by the pack train with four soldiers and two muleteers, then the horses with four soldiers. We travelled a northerly course over flat bare land in which a long narrow lake is situated, until at half-past nine we entered within a hollow confined both more and less between high hills. There are some willow trees to both sides of it; it ends at an elevated gap, coming down from which we crossed a small-sized creek in which there was an amount of running water, sinking a short way below, so that when we wanted some of it we looked and could find none, and had to turn back a little way. Past noon we stopped on a plain with white oaks on all four quarters.[23]

[November] 25th. At sunup we started through a wide-stretching level hollow, its soil somewhat nitrous; at its end we crossed a creek with running water. We climbed a knoll; there is a lake here; and came down upon another level hollow, black soil and muddy. There was grass in patches and in places not even that. We continued on down to the northwest [and] came across a large village; the heathens came out and gave a great many arrows to both the Father and myself. We returned the favor, making much of their present, as it seemed they harbored no ill will toward us; if they had, they would not have given away their weapons. They gave me pinole-drink and atole-gruel; I tasted it and left them the rest of it and gave them their beads. One of them indeed thrust it upon me several times: I would go through a short show of tasting it, taking no more than that, and return it to him; he would take a turn away, or wait, and proffer the same gift again. On getting soaked with it I had to change my coat. Their water here is a small-sized creek, and on crossing it the soil became better, damp and with grass and other plants. I saw the trace of the great deer, geese, and antelope; a considerable number of trees in the plain, cottonwoods [and] white oaks, and redwood on the heights on both sides—I hold this to be a kind of pine, to judge from the odor of its smoke and ashes. I have had occasion to pass beneath one of these trees and have seen fallen pine cones, though small ones and not large as are those of the common pine, and some amount of resin on the trunk; it is easily worked, tall, and wide in girth. We stopped at half-past twelve.[24]

[November] 26th. It is not carelessness has kept me from bringing a clock. At Monterey I found it kept stopping; I attribute it to the great dampness brought by the fogs; and it seemed idle to have it with me. I have the sun's timepiece.

We were up at dawn, with thick fog overhead and no sight of the sun. In the morning the march followed the same hollow, with the trees always on the right hand. Alongside us there was a creek with cottonwoods in a good-sized bed, but dry; a thing not commonly seen in these lands. A little after this we passed a patch of willows and cottonwoods, and now found running water in the creek. Here all at once there were heathens standing with their weapons in hand, [though] they made no show of them. In people such as these, who have no knowledge of others and live like wild beasts at bay, it is second nature to snatch them up. They are accustomed to make gestures or signs that one of some moderate experience can understand. We crossed a small line of hills and saw the mountains of San Francisco. We went down to a spacious plain with live oaks, the same creek on our right, in which though the water had sunk 'twas found here in pools. We stopped here, already in the district of the harbor; no telling the time, because of a great mass of clouds that shortly commenced to pour down rain. The course is to the northwest.[25]

[November] 27th, Sunday. We heard Mass, and in order to give time for the shelters to air, dinner was ordered to be eaten early and followed by the day's march: and thus it was done. At twelve o'clock we started off on the same course; and were our efforts directed to a straight march to the rivers, here is where we should take the way straight to the north, passing by the end of the southeastern arm of the harbor. But as the fundamental and basic thing *(vasa fundamental)* is the harbor itself, and, of this, its gateway, entrance and exit: even though it might be at the cost of later having to retrace a great stretch of country in order to take the way to the rivers from here, I continued on to the northwest in search of the very mouth of the harbor.

With the purpose of giving His Most Excellent Lordship this account with nothing more nor less in it than seen by my own eyes, I think—judging by our course since we left the straight way to the north and took the one to the northwest—that by taking a straight road or making one where there has been none till now, the distance to Monterey will prove less. Returning now to the march: Keeping on through the plain of live oak trees, and departing from the creek that flows into the end of the harbor, we struck a swamp. Several of us attempted to ford it; finding ourselves become mired we gave it up, and by turning back and circling succeeded in crossing through running water, though with difficulty. Some fell in; the Father crossed on the men's shoulders. The sun set, we came to a belt of woods, so low and dense that I feared if night caught us there our animals might be lost. We stopped without any more water than a little in two waterbags. Only three heathens were seen on this day's march.[26]

[November] 28th. At dawn no one's face showed any lack of water. We could not see the sun when it rose; it must have been seven o'clock. We crossed the wood, a kind of Juniper scrub; we have had the arm of water to our right; [it is] level land with many live oaks and several belts of these woods. We crossed two creeks with water, sinking shortly beyond, and on encountering the same creek and place where we had been at the time of the expedition, and from which we turned back then, we stopped at twelve o'clock. It has been drizzling and now threatens rain. Five heathens came up, and I went out to greet them; only one of them carried weapons. I made signs to him to leave them and for them to follow me, and they did so. The Father gave them presents, I gave them some beads, and after a great while they went away, one of them bringing me his pipe to be filled: I did so, but as I had already given him enough for the same and a cigar besides, I intend henceforth to be more sparing because of the great scarcity in this commodity.

This is a creek with running water—it does not fall below the amount carried by the Carmelo River in its normal season—with a variety of different trees, among them laurels. It rises from a small mountain range, covered with the [red] wood of which an account is given above, and approaching within about a league. I passed through there at the time of the first expedition looking for heathens. The plain is spacious, abounding in grasses and acorn-bearing live oaks, and is the nearest to the mouth or entrance of this harbor that a foundation can be made: for true though it is that there are water and good grass by that entrance, it is equally the case that there is neither firewood there nor a single stick to build with. I have seen that terrain beforehand, and speak from what I know. Here where we crossed this same creek a tall cross has been set up, with its arms fastened by an iron spike, beside an Indian trail.[27]

[November] 29th. It was impossible to determine the hour when we started (the sun already up) direction northwest, over flat country. Because we missed the entrance to a hollow we had gone through at the time of our being explorers, our mistake, when we realized it, was at the expense of having to cross over through very high broken country in search of it. We at length came out to it. Indians made an appearance at three places, some of them wtih arms, others carrying throwing-spears; there could have been no less than eighty of them in number altogether; no women came near. There is a lake in this hollow; we passed by its bank and stopped farther on at a creek flowing from the lake, here also some heathens came up.[28]

[November] 30th, Feast of the Holy Apostle [St. Andrew]. We heard Mass almost at break of day. As soon as it was over heathens began to appear; a good-sized band of them gathered. We set out in a thick fog, skirting the arm of the sea to our right on the same course, and through the above hollow. On our left we have some rough and thickly tangled woods, pinning us up against the hill slope facing them, and many small ravines in our way that gave the laden mules trouble. The heathen followed, and at about a league a new band showed themselves and on our reaching them made signs for us to tarry; we obliged them. Two headmen of these villages were recognized, [and] there were some children.

After a short while we spurred on, and soon new people appeared, women with their infants came out from among the thickets, where they have their little huts on the bank; when it rains a great many of them must get wet. There do not seem to be enough huts for the number of people, unless they pack themselves like cakes of soap in a box. They gave me two gluey batches of atole-gruel (for which I made suitable return) that would have been appreciated another time; this time, as soon as I was out of their sight, I ordered it thrown into the woods. Continuing our journey we discovered another village to the south; no people came out, but the greater part of those with us turned off here, and so I concluded they were from here and had been given notice and had come to meet us. When we travelled through here some years ago there was only one village, and now it seems after a fashion a sort of Santa Barbara Channel; between yesterday and the time of writing this, eight villages have been seen. So natural in man is the desire to have the advantage, that, as I have just now been observing of these savages accompanying us, they keep us always on their lefthand or bow side. We stopped at ten o'clock on a knoll; we have water here in a small-sized lake; we are in view of the harbor, the edges of which, being low, show countless little inlets. To the north is seen a high bare mountain, lying as it seems to me northwest and east. Tomorrow I think to climb it in order to search out the place where these waters enter, which I have never really seen.[29]

December 1st. It commenced raining from midnight onward, with a strong west wind; afterward it turned to fog and at noon it cleared. I set out with three soldiers intending to climb the mountain, and learned it was farther than I had promised myself; fearing darkness might fall before I should succeed in reaching its top, I decided to turn back.

[December] 2d. Rose early and with four soldiers climbed the mountain; the sun was not yet discovered when we stood on the summit. I saw the meeting or fork of the two arms, one drawing to the north and the one we had kept on our right that goes to the southeast. The mainland between these arms rises at no great distance back from the shore, making as it seemed to me a sort of point, I can't say precisely what; at the same place, the northern estuary turns inland so sharply that it is soon covered to view from the height. I saw two islands, and there is a sort of bay there. I perceived where the entrance might be, but could not make it out; for this reason I descended in search of it; and travelling a stretch of a league and a half, stopped on top of a peak where from a distance of half a league I discovered part of the mouth, which it seemed to me must be a scant quarter-league wide. The land to the northwest on the other side is high; it makes some sea-cliffs inside the mouth; and there are trees visible on the height. Keeping on in the same direction the land drops somewhat, and at the foot there is a cove with a clear sandy shore sheltered from the same quarter and the north and northeast; it was plainly no more than a league's distance from the mouth. The land rises once more, and then keeps on dropping so rapidly that looking at Point Reyes it seems like three islands standing separate; this point drops very low and goes far out to sea. On this side it is flats and low-ground, [and] the same at the point at the entrance, where there are rocks awash, three of them rising higher than the rest. The coast runs on to the south; at a league's distance is an inlet, and a bight of no great size down as far as the point called Santo Angel de la Guarda. This place at the time of our being explorers succoured us with an abundance of mussels. From the peak where I saw the mouth I also saw a great sand dune lying in between, and this deterred me from going any further on; as the animals were tired, I turned back to avoid the chance of having to return to the camp on foot. There are two creeks here in this plain with some water; they give into the estuary. Back at the camp, being compelled by the unvarying hard cold wind, I gave orders for them to get ready to move; this was accomplished at three o'clock in the afternoon, and we settled in a more sheltered spot.[30]

[December] 3d. It rained in the night, with a violent wind that seemed to be a southerly; in the daytime it changed to the west and continued raining. At noon the weather improved, but with the continuing wind the rain returned. It has been a very raw day, though even so twenty-four heathens came by. The rain died down, and it was our good fortune not to have foundered under so much of it; the wind kept up all night long, no less strong than before.[31]

[December] 4th. All night, morning, and afternoon the northwester blew hard, which was the cause of our not hearing Mass though it was Sunday. A little before our setting out a band of heathens came up. We started at half-past eight on a northwesterly course. It was my purpose to tread the beach and halt upon the point at the very mouth of the harbor, for though I saw it at so short a distance as said above, it happened that on my return I found myself less than satisfied. We stopped at eleven o'clock upon a small-sized creek with water near the inlet before mentioned; it lies south. There is no firewood nor one stick to build with. Four heathens following us found a dead deer and stayed with it, so feeble a thing is their companionship and broken so easily—they bestowed it on the deer, at least until it was eaten up. As soon as the fresh mounts had been watered I ordered them saddled, and set out for the mouth with four soldiers, before dinner; we were accompanied by Father Palóu. I succeeded in treading the beach, and came to a stand upon the very point on the south side, the one with the three rocks. Around this point, within the mouth, there are other rocks awash at the land's edge; they show at low tide, and some of them must uncover when it is full; if not, their position will be shown by broken water, and they will be no danger to vessels, being by the shore and the rest of the entrance left open and free. The land to the northwest on the other side lies parallel to that described above; there is a red cliff running out in a point, with a black rock; to the northwest at the foot is the cove and shelter, and along that piece of coast several groups of cliffs are seen. The width of the entrance must be a short quarter-league; it looks westward, and nearly opposite it lies one of the groups of the *Farallones*. The mouth continues inland to the east in the shape of a narrow pass or roadway, and at another quarter-league's distance are two more points, closing in a little without straitening the entrance. Near by them there was a small sea-chop raised, which, for all that, I did not suppose indicated a shoal, but rather that it was caused by the strong current meeting a stiff wind. Close past these comes the separation of the northern and southeastern arms; there is some sort of a bay; and directly behind the aforesaid points is seen a sizeable island, with the separating mainland at its back.

Between the above-described cove and Point Reyes, which ends west-northwest, will, I am persuaded, be found the harbor read of in the *History of Californias* and in *Cabrera Bueno*, and also that these waters here treated were first discovered by our first expedition journey. A cross was set up on the point.

I find myself obliged to crave His Most Excellent Lordship's pardon for my exposition and style of writing these advices, as I lack all skill at histories.[32]

[December] 5th. Having undergone the rough weather, the rain and cold wind, and the ground hard going for our beasts, with clouds yet overhead threatening rain; with two days' return march to make down to the end of the arm of the harbor before heading north to the rivers (on which road there are no boats to be found to enable crossing any of the creeks and rivers if they should rise); and considering the men's battered condition as well as my own bruises—I decided to take my way back to Monterey and leave the rest to be attempted toward the end of March or beginning of April, that being the time when the rains, if they do not stop, draw off somewhat.

We set out at seven o'clock, course south. It is to be noted that what was before described as an inlet, here on the shore, is instead a lake. I turned aside and went to it, drank the water and found it sweet; the beach makes a dam across it. Between here and the mouth of the harbor it is three quarters of a league's distance; the breakers are not high, nor the shore steep; nearly the whole way is taken up by a great sand dune, which, as it extends up over the land, must needs be visible to navigators. Returning now to the march: We crossed through high hills and from these saw the second group of the *Farallones*—these are the ones nearest Point Reyes. There are two small lakes on these heights. We came upon the track we had travelled at an earlier time. We stopped at one o'clock of the afternoon at running water at the end of the bight at Point Angel de la Guarda.[33]

[December] 6th. At dawn a drizzle was falling and I doubted we should make the march; but as there was a long grade to be climbed and descended and a hanging slope to pass, it was concluded to set out before the rain became worse. The sun never appeared. Once past these difficult spots we travelled over flat land, crossing several creeks with water in them; four of the soldiers' mules have fallen in the mire, their riders getting more or less wet; at one of them it proved necessary to make a short little bridge for the laden mules to cross. We stopped at half-past two, at running water, close by a village of heathens whom I had thought good people at the time of the first expedition, and so now. Having sighted us they came out with their weapons in hand, and I, availing myself of former acquaintance, made signs to them to leave them behind: at once, their headman being the first, they gave them to one who took them away. This headman was with us as a guide the other time, and this time, as there was no wood nearby, I asked them (by signs) to bring some, which they did so well that we felt no lack. The Father travelled three ways on this day's march, on his mule, afoot, and carried on arms crossing a creek.[34]

[December] 7th. A little after midnight the rain set in. It rained hard until seven or eight o'clock and continued overcast with thick fog; later the sun came out. We stayed in the same place, not moving on, in order for our shelters and the ground to dry out a little. We have had the heathens visiting us almost all day long. They brought us three big bowls of atole-gruel; I took it and gave it back to them with only a taste (which it is some self-sacrifice to take); they gave us further two of their dough-balls, one of which was given back to them. Because of this, to leave a good taste in their mouths (having already given them beads yesterday, and a new powder-cloth for the headman) I have given them beads [again] today. They have brought us firewood with a good will, and in as much plenty as though it had not been far to fetch. The Father has also made them a present of beads.[35]

[December] 8th. We heard Mass at break of day and set out at the first sight of the sun. The heathens came out to guide us, and they took us out of our way to bring us to the second part of their village. Some Indians camped down below came out to meet us; they approached but we did not wait for them. The détour lost us something, and the march has been very hard because of many high slopes and it being very wet underfoot. We crossed three rivulets, the second of which might do for a settlement, with plentiful grass, wood, and good timber. We stopped at three o'clock.[36]

[December] 9th. We set out at first sight of the sun, after a thick frost, over a high road; we came down to the level; we have crossed several creeks with running water and marshy in places. There are a great many geese [and] a few cranes. On encountering a great stretch of beach with many stones beaten flat by the washing of the sea, a hard place which is travelled all the way at the foot of a high cliff, we attempted to wade past; but the rising sea tide pressed us so hard, that after all our efforts, and when two of the soldiers' mules had fallen (though without danger to them), we had to turn back despite ourselves and wait for it to fall again. This cliff rises next to New Year's (Año Nuevo) Point. We stopped at eleven o'clock at running water; it is now four o'clock and the sun sets before half-past; the tide still stops the way, perhaps we shall manage it by rising early.[37]

[December] 10th. By rising early and taking certain measures, between these and the low tide, we got past, and at once came out to the place called La Salud, where we said a Hail Mary to Our Lady the Virgin in memory of the favor received in the first journey, when I was in such fear it would rain, because of the sick men: and it did, but yet turned out very differently from what I had feared. At once on the following day there was general improvement; those near death went on recovering until they were well, and we who were touched with the sickness found the same happen to us. We climbed to the same high elevated land as at New Year's Point, came down to a river, and then crossed another smaller one and some creeks with running water that gave us trouble because not one had a beaten path down to it. In spite of the fact that the country is now level, the hills lie close to the shore, and there are sea-cliffs, the result being that the creeks are deep and sunken. The heathens shouted at us from the hilltops in two places. We stopped at half-past three.[38]

[December] 11th. Sunday. We heard Mass at break of day, after which the men were issued their rations. Allowing no delay for this, we set out early. Heathens commenced to show themselves, some of them on the low land, and others who shouted from the height. As these saw that the ones below had been with us and received no harm, they came down to join them. The Father and I gave them beads. They led us to their village, which consisted of eleven huts situated at the crossing of a good-sized creek and near to the shore. After this we entered into a hollow that was enhanced by tall slender thick-trunked trees, though it must be even more so when the hazelnuts (of which there are a great many thickets) are in season. Through here four heathens showed themselves to us. The Father gave beads to three of them who were not a little frightened when they reached us. The hollow ends at a lake of some length overgrown with tules; very fine country. Pursuing our way we stopped upon the Pajaro River, a site well qualified for settlement; the same, and even more commodious, is the previous place commonly called by the soldiers by the name *Santa Cruz*, which we also passed today.[39]

[December] 12th. We heard Mass at break of day, and set out about seven o'clock. Beyond the river plain we entered into a hollow where there is a lake. We passed some hills, and after travelling [a line seems to have been dropped] a bottomland where we saw heathens, who instantly turned and ran into the grass. We came out onto the plain, and whereas before the animals had been sinking into the ground because of the heavy rains, we here had the experience of finding it all dry, a diversity usually found only between various different parts of the world. By the moisture in the soil and taller grasses, it is plain to see that there has been more rain toward San Francisco. We crossed the Monterey River, which carries more water than any we have passed between the mouth of the harbor and here; and stopped at half-past twelve.[40]

[December] 13th. The sun already risen, we started from the river, and reached the presidio here at ten o'clock. Father Fray Francisco at once went on to the Carmelo. Two soldiers went along to conduct His Reverence and his few effects.

NOTES

1. It is most unlikely that J. F. de Ortega's scouting party located the bay mouth in 1769, for there is no genuine reference to such a discovery, and some direct evidence to the contrary.

2. The rendering "leather jacket" for *cuera* is not quite adequate. See Martín Alonso Pedraz, *Enciclopedia del idioma* . . . (Madrid, 1958), s.v. cuera; *Oxford English Dictionary*, Buff sb.², and Jerkin; Sir John Davies, Epigram Number 8, *Poems*, ed. C. Howard (New York, 1941), p. 37.

3. Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), p. 333; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 363-364.

4. *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias 1764-1795 (Colección Chimalistac*, 5; Madrid, 1959), p. 19.

5. Johann Jakob Baegert, S.J., *Observations in Lower California*, trans. M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), p. 168.

6. *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Legajo 417, MS, A. G. I., Madrid (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

7. Rivera to Matías de Armona, August 31, 1770, *Californias*, Vol. 76, MS, A. G. N., Mexico City (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

8. Fages to the Viceroy, August 8, 1772, *Californias*, Vol. 66, MS, A. G. N. (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

9. *Californias*, Vol. 66, MS, A. G. N. (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

10. *Ibid.*, fol. 66, May 31, 1771.

11. Quoted by Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés* . . . (New York, 1900), I, 252-253, n. 30.

12. *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Legajo 514, MS, A. G. I. (microfilm, Bancroft Library).

13. *Writings of Junípero Serra*, ed. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. (Washington, D. C., 1956), II, 194.

14. *Archivo de California, Provincial State Papers*, I:162-165, MS, Bancroft Library.

15. *Writings of Junípero Serra*, II, 194.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

17. H. E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), III, 128; IV, 342, *et. seqq.*

18. Cf. Peveril Meigs, 3d, *The Dominican Mission Frontier in Lower California* (University of California Publications in Geology, VII [Berkeley, 1935]), p. 11.

19. Charles E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias* . . . (Berkeley, 1919), p. 365, no. 2761; Neal Harlow, *The Maps of San Francisco Bay* . . . (San Francisco, 1950), p. 108, note 16, referring to Chapman.

20. Translated in H. E. Bolton, *Palou's New California* (binding title; Berke-

ley, 1926), III, 249-307; *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), II, 395-456. Information from Palóu's journal (including citations and paraphrases) used in the explanatory notes of this article is drawn from the two Spanish texts: *Documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico, 1857), Ser. 4, tom. 7, pp. 49-92; *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Legajo 514, MS.

21. *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Legajo 514, MS, A. G. I. (microfilm, Bancroft Library); *Correspondencia de los Virreyes*, Ser. I, tom. 67, MS, A. G. N. (microfilm, Bancroft Library). The copy sent to Spain is certified. The punctuation is inconsistent between the copies and frequently obscures the sense. Errors of syntax or phrasing in the translation are unavoidable in reproducing the style of the original.

22. Palóu says they took the "Shore road" from Monterey; that is, through the sand-hills past present Fort Ord and down to the Salinas River at the old Blanco crossing.

23. They perhaps went as far north as Merritt Lake by Castroville; thence east to the old San Juan Road, over the hills along what is now called the Old Stage Road, and down to camp at the foot of San Juan Creek.

24. From San Juan they struck east across the valley, the San Benito River (then a narrow stream) and the Flint Hills, to the Santa Clara Valley four miles northwest of Hollister. The Indian village was on what is now the Pajaro River; the Spaniards were given arrows here in 1772 and 1776 also. The camp was a mile west of the highway on the Llagas Creek (the name dates from this occasion). The "great deer" were elk. Most of the trees here called redwood [*Madera Colorada*] were actually pines.

25. The frontiersman's distrust of clockwork is amusing. The Indians seen were near Coyote; the explorers kept on down Coyote Creek, climbed the so-called Lick Hills at the south end of San Jose, and saw San Bruno Mountain far in the distance. The camp was by the oak-grove then northeast of the present cemetery.

26. Rivera must mean here that his new route along the bay is shorter than the first expedition's road of 1769 up the coast. His party went into the Willows section of San Jose between the sink of the Guadalupe Creek and the place where the Guadalupe River rose from underground; thence along Lincoln Avenue to the sink of the Los Gatos Creek, beyond which it was all sloughs and tules. After wading the creek further up, they went to camp southwest of present El Camino opposite Sunnyvale.

27. Palóu says they saw a rainbow before sunrise. The scrub-wood was the plant locally called greasewood *(Baccharis pilularis* var. *consanguinea).* The line of march was first southwest, then northeast of present El Camino, up to San Francisquito Creek, the furthest camp of the first expedition, evidently by present Middlefield Road. Palóu gives a well-known description of a redwood grove by the ford and a gigantic lone tree near by; this cannot refer to the present Palo Alto redwood.

28. Palóu says Rivera wished to go over to the old expedition trail in the Cañada for fear of marshes along the bay, though it was planned to return by the latter route. They seem to have gone up a hill back of Redwood City, and at the top met the Indians, whom Palóu describes minutely. One of them became attached to him and was nicknamed Rueful. The party went over to the lake which is now Upper Crystal Springs Reservoir, and camped just north of it.

29. The march was through the valley with the reservoirs, along Sawyer Camp Road. The Indians whose numbers caused Rivera to liken the place to the Santa Barbara Channel towns were the Shalshón tribelet; in the 1780's their eight villages were still here. Camp was at the edge of present San Andreas Lake (the name given by Palóu), by the historical marker on Skyline Boulevard.

30. The first climb was to the top of the San Bruno Mountain; Angel and Yerba Buena Islands are visible, and the view is splendid. Rivera's second point of vantage was the peak of Mount Davidson, from which he had a view of the strait west of the Golden Gate Bridge. His distances are all underestimated: the cove to the north must be Bolinas. The inlet is Lake Merced, and Angel de la Guarda was Pedro Point. The great sand dune is now the Sunset and Golden Gate Park.

31. The camp had been shifted to present downtown San Bruno. (Fray Pedro Font in 1776 wrote that the name was given by Palóu on this occasion, but it must have been in 1775 instead. See Frank Merriman Stanger, *History of San Mateo County* [San Mateo, 1938] p. 17.) Palóu writes that the Indians borrowed fire and camped in the creek bed by the Spaniards.

32. They went northwest to Lake Merced; from there the captain's group went by Ocean Beach, up the Cliff by the three Seal Rocks, and stopped on top by Fort Miley. The Mile Rocks and Point Bonita are described, and Angel Island within the Gate. Rivera was evidently the first to realize that the bay had been discovered in 1769, while the Harbor of San Francisco of the old navigators was where he places it, far off to the north. His conclusion was accepted by the San Blas naval officials in 1775.

33. From Lake Merced (which is no longer drinking water) they went on the present Pacifica (Edgemar) Freeway to Pedro Valley, the same place occupied in 1769 when the bay was discovered.

34. They went over Pedro Mountain (Montara Mountain of the maps). The creeks were between present Montara and Princeton; the first expedition had bridged two of them. Camp was at Purisima Creek south of Half Moon Bay.

35. The Indian village was "upon the high bank of a sort of small island" of land above the creek bed, on the west edge of the present highway. The Spaniards were careful to give beads and toys to the chief's small son. The "doughballs" were the food called tamales by other explorers.

36. They were led inland south of the Tunitas. The route was south across the San Gregorio, Pescadero (Rivera's second rivulet) and Butano Creeks, to camp among live oaks and chestnuts south of Pescadero.

37. They went along the Cloverdale Road, down White House Creek and

past the Steele ranches to camp at New Year's Creek. The low-tide road by the beach here remained in use well over a century.

38. Rivera found a way down the cliff on the present Coastways Ranch. Palóu thought it "more of a straight up-and-down ladder," and was only comforted by the thought that there was nothing but sand below. La Salud was at Waddell Creek; the "river" was Scott Creek. Camp must have been at Laguna Creek.

39. They marched past the site of Santa Cruz and met the Indians at Soquel. The village was Aptos. They then left the present main highway and went along the old Watsonville road to the redwoods, just north of Corralitos Lagoon (Rivera's lake). Palóu adds the story of a soldier's spurring his horse inside a hollow tree and exclaiming that here was a house for him in case it rained. The camp was by Watsonville.

40. The party probably went inland by Prunedale; the Salinas was reached at the same place as before. Rivera's remark about the local variations in climate is true enough, and no doubt he had seen even more striking examples.

New Books

William Brown Ide: Bear Flagger. By Fred Blackburn Rogers. (San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1962. 108 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

William B. Ide was one of California's most useful and versatile—and neglected—pioneers. Though he was, among other things, a carpenter, farmer, school teacher, newspaper "correspondent," overland emigrant, amateur lawyer, surveyor, gold miner, and county official, it has been his fate to be presented by history principally as a right-minded but slightly ridiculous idealist who was the more or less accidental "President of California" during the brief Bear Flag incident at Sonoma in 1846. Unfair as this one-sided picture is, there are some who may feel that history has given Ide his just desserts. Ide, it is true, sacrificed much for California, but the state repaid him generously, giving him not only financial security but also his opportunity for a modest share of immortal fame. Yet in 1851, after he had gained a small fortune in the gold fields, Ide wrote to his brother saying, "I do not seek more wealth; but simply wish to exchange what I have for cash, that I may leave California once for all." These are the words of a California hero? One could scarcely be blamed for leaving such a person to his already established historical fate, for letting the judgment of history be also that of Ide's own daughter, who admitted that her father "in a way, was a strange man," who, "it seemed, was living in some other and better world."

But Colonel Fred B. Rogers is not that type of historian. Turning his keen nose for facts to Ide's track through the records of the past, he has, as usual, uncovered much that earlier investigators have overlooked. By patiently piecing together a document here, a newspaper clipping there, and a forgotten claim application from somewhere else, he has piled fact on fact until a new picture of Ide has emerged, more complete and much more impartial than any hitherto available. The result is a book which merits the much-used but not always deserved description, "a contribution to historical knowledge."

A new study of Ide has long been overdue. While the Bear Flag commandant has been made light of by such standard histories as those by Hubert Howe Bancroft and Josiah Royce, the two earlier book-length biographies of Ide are so laudatory as to be open to suspicion of bias. Colonel Roger's book thus fills a definite void. While the new study presents a well-rounded portrait of Ide, it is at the same time a "critical" biography in which certain key phases of Ide's career are analyzed in greater detail than others. And it is precisely at these key points that the book illuminates not only Ide's career but the broader history of California as well.

For instance, the story of the Ide family's overland journey to California in 1845 is presented in part by means of letters written by Oregon Trail travelers to Midwest newspapers, probably at least three of the letters being from the pen of Ide himself. By reprinting these letters from the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Illinois), Colonel Rogers makes conveniently available important source material on the emigration of 1845, a year comparatively neglected in the annals of overland "voyaging."

While Colonel Rogers disclaims having written a full length history of the Bear Flag Revolt, his account of that climactic event in Ide's life is, in fact, one of the best summaries of the entire settler movement yet written. And here again, the book makes important contributions. Colonel Rogers is the first person to bring to public notice a version of Ide's famous proclamation of June 15, 1846, which contains seventy more words than any other known copy. His analysis of the circumstances surrounding the writing of Ide's famous "Wambough Letter," perhaps the most important single narrative on the revolt by a participant, will be of much assistance to all future scholars working on the Bear Flag problem.

Among the many other aspects of Ide's life on which this book throws fresh light are his connection with Mormonism, his activities in forming a civil government in the upper Sacramento Valley during the latter part of 1846, his work as a surveyor, his success as a gold miner, his life as an official in the long since renamed and reconstituted Colusi County, and his places of residence in the Red Bluff vicinity—a matter of interest to all visitors to the present William B. Ide State Historical Monument. One puts down this book with a feeling of tempered admiration and a great deal of respect for this conscientious man who died in 1852 with the key to the Colusi County safe under his head, fulfilling to the end the civic duties to which he was bound by no other necessity than that impelled by his own overwhelming sense of responsibility.

The book is another in the series of excellent historical works produced by John Howell—Books. Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy, well illustrated, annotated, and indexed, it will be welcomed both by admirers of fine bookmaking and by serious students of California's past. It is a study of lasting worth which will long be the standard reference in its field.

John A. Hussey, a foremost authority on the Bear Flag Rebellion, received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Rebellion. Currently, Dr. Hussey is Historian for the National Park Service.

Luke Short And His Era. By William R. Cox. (New York, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961. 214 pp. $3.50.) Reviewed by Michael Thurman.

The story of Luke L. Short is the biography of a famous prototype: the professional gambler. After the Civil War, the boom days of railroad building and cattle drives established the foundation for the cow towns of Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming where the gambler ruled a realm as popular as that of any outlaw. Luke Short's introduction to gambling occurred during a stint on the Chisholm Trail; in the gambling "hells" of Abilene he staked his meager pay and lost everything to experience. The young Texan was nevertheless undaunted and he was determined to master the profession and to emulate the flashy, well-dressed man who raked in the pot with the turn of a card.

Luke's apprenticeship drew him from Colorado to Arizona, and finally he ended up in Dodge City, the "Queen of the Cowtowns." During his ramblings on the frontier—from 1874 to 1878—Luke perfected his techniques and gained a reputation; he was soon renowned as a tough little Texan who dealt a fair hand and seldom spoke to strangers. His flair for flashy clothes was demonstrated by his custom-made outfits, complete with a leather-lined pocket for his Colt and his magnificent gambler's topper: "a high-crowned, stiff-brimmed classic." One of the author's colorful descriptions indicates:

> This was the big day of the gambler. He was looked up to by young and old, the respectable and disruptable. He was cock of the walk and he had money to prove it. (p. 51.)

Upon becoming a permanent resident of Dodge City, Luke Short associated with the Long Branch Saloon. This episode proved profitable and interesting, since he became acquainted with such prominent westerners as Doc Holliday, Bill Tilghman, the Mastersons (Bat and James), and Wyatt Earp. The latter associate was more than a fleeting fascination—each man respected his contemporary for personal honor and integrity.

Luke Short's operations at the Long Branch netted him a fine profit, but soon, rival gamblers became enraged over his hiring of female entertainers and the so-called Dodge City War erupted. The affair was peacefully settled when Wyatt Earp escorted Luke back into Dodge City (lawman Earp brought only two Colt .45's against the mayor and a large following), and Short received full pardon for his "breech of conduct" plus reinstatement at the Long Branch Saloon. The victory of Luke Short and Wyatt Earp in the Dodge City War is characteristically entitled the "Last Play" by the author, William R. Cox. This term is significant since the episode marks Luke's decline of popularity and authority as the spokesman of gambling society on the frontier.

The student of Western History might well take issue with William R. Cox's treatment of the frontier or with his theory of the exploitation of natural products in the West. However, it seems important to add that the book presents a representative type of westerner during the post-Civil War era. The weakest link in *Luke Short* is not found in the author's interpretation of the frontier movement nor in his use of the materials researched. The most serious defect in the book stems from two shortcomings: the author's flagrant inconsistency and his flair for digressive elements resulting in a lack of continuity.

In the first example, the "Notes" for each chapter are adequate for the material within the text, but they are so different from the Bibliography that it is difficult to recognize the two as coming from the same work. Cox is guilty of citing at least three works in the "Notes" which he omits from the Bibliography. Other examples of the author's inconsistency are as follows: a combination of full names or merely citing portions of the name, as with Stuart N. Lake (given variously as Stuart Lake and Lake) author of *Wyatt Earp;* the incorrect citation of Paul I. Wellman's book, *Death On Horseback* [*sic*] (*Death On the Prairie*, incorrectly cited in both "Notes" and Bibliography, with different publication dates); and the misspelling of John Meyers Meyers [*sic*] (John Myers Myers) and of Alexander Johnson [*sic*] (Alexander Johnstone).

In the Bibliography, these errors are equally flagrant where one finds the following classic examples: a citation of Barnes and Raine [*sic*] for Barnes, William C., and William MacLeod Raine; the entry of Connelly, W. B. [*sic*] for Connelley, William Elsey; and the misspelling of the publishing house of Duell, Sloan and Pearce. This critic also questions the bibliographical citation of W. B. "Bat" Masterson, *Famous Gunfighter of the Western Frontier*, which Cox has failed to cite as a *reprinted* publication for the year 1959.

The critical scholar will undoubtedly discern a popular trend in *Luke Short And His Era* which unquestionably places the book at a disadvantage when compared with such scholarly works as Max L. Heyman's biography of General E. R. S. Canby. A thorough researcher would not be expected to examine any additional depositories than William R. Cox has utilized for *Luke Short*. Nevertheless, the product is interesting and entertaining at best, while woefully inadequate in the more obvious mechanical aspects of bibliography and footnotes. Cox's work on Luke Short is not an exceptional historical biography simply because the author attempts to establish Luke Short's era by an excessive amount of digressive interpretations concerning the collapse of the frontier cow towns and the professional gambler.

MICHAEL THURMAN is an assistant professor of Western American history at East Texas State College.

South Pass, 1868: James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush. Edited by Lola M. Homsher. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1960. 244 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

On July 13, 1867, the Chicago *Times* carried the first eastern intelligence of a gold strike on the Green River, which later information correctly identified as being located at South Pass, a landmark on the Oregon Trail, in present-day Wyoming. Like most gold discoveries, fact and fiction, coupled with wishful thinking and hyperbole, it stirred up a sizeable human stampede in search of illusive fortune. To capture that story for its readers, the Chicago *Tribune* sent out its own special correspondent, James Chisholm, an immigrant Scotsman who had only been in the United States three years. Fortunately, he had a good eye for detail and a gift with the pen.

The South Pass gold rush was all too brief. Chisholm arrived on the scene after the major excitement had waned. For this reason, his journal is not an "eyewitness" account of the initial excitement and events of discovery. Yet, that very fact makes this journal unique—and valuable. It records what happened to a boom-to-bust gold rush region. As such, it is a firsthand report on the death of a mining region as seen by a sensitive observer. He graphically describes the process of struggle and readjustment of a region recently cured of the gold fever—a region in search of a more enduring and permanent basis for existence.

His journal, here published for the first time, has been superbly edited by Lola M. Homsher, Director, Wyoming State Archives and History Department. The journal is introduced by imaginative use of newspaper reports of the gold strike. Then, the reader is given a biographical sketch of the correspondent, followed by appropriate extracts from a variety of sources which set the scene of Chisholm's travels. The text of the journal is judiciously rendered with supplied annotations. To conclude the volume, a set of "Supplementary Notes" touch on various aspects of Wyoming history, including a chronology for South Pass and Wyoming, 1803-1869; a glossary of mining terms; a summary of other gold rushes, and special treatment of South Pass. Additional letters and notes on Chisholm, replete with a detailed and highly useful discourse on sources, plus bibliography, adds dimension to the total textual structure.

This book, volume III in *The Pioneer Heritage Series* from the University of Nebraska Press, sets a high standard for creative editing. It could well serve as a model for scholars engaged in similar tasks. The book is handsomely printed and nicely illustrated by original sketches, well documented, carefully and imaginatively edited. But more. It reads well!

One criticism could be voiced. The lack of an index (as with the previous volumes in the series) mars an otherwise splendid contribution to the source literature of the Trans-Mississippi West.

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., is assistant professor of education and history at the University of California, Los Angeles. Author of *Andrew Sublette*, Dr. Nunis is the editor of *The Golden Frontier: The Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart, 1851-1869*, which was published this summer by the University of Texas Press.

Trouping in the Oregon Country: A History of Frontier Theatre. By Alice Henson Ernst (Portland, Oregon, Oregon Historical Society, 1961. 197 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Frank L. Fenton.

In *Trouping in the Oregon Country*, Mrs. Ernst has indeed written "a history of Frontier Theatre." The interests (bias, if you will) of the present reviewer make the first part of her book more interesting than the latter, and the contrasts and parallels to the San Francisco Theater are vividly apparent. Mrs. Ernst notes that the theater both in California and in the Oregon Country first came into being from that unlikely source: the military. She mentions briefly the fact that the soldiers of Stevenson's Regiment put on plays from Los Angeles to Sonoma, and then moves on to an account of the first dramatic production in Oregon, given by the officers and men of H.B.M.S. *Modeste* on February 3, 1846. Later dramatic performances were given by the men of the garrison at Vancouver. Many of the first professional performers in Oregon were pioneers of the California theater. The peripatetic Stephen Massett, famous for the first public entertainment in American San Francisco in the summer of 1849, appeared in Oregon in all kinds of unlikely spots from 1854 to 1856. Rowe's Olympic Circus, attempting to make a comeback after Rowe had emerged from retirement, toured Oregon in 1858. The famous Chapman family were represented not only by William and Caroline, but by Mr. and Mrs. George Chapman. It is heartening to learn that the energetic, generous, open-hearted Mrs. George Chapman, famous for her varied activities and numerous progeny, gave the oration on the Fourth of July, 1857, in Portland. (Mrs. Ernst does not, unfortunately, say anything of the content of this oration, but one can be sure that Mrs. Chapman did well by the great national holiday.) Lotta Crabtree was travelling with the Metropolitan Male and Female Minstrels in Oregon in September, 1862. Throughout the accounts of the early days of Oregon entertainment, names familiar to students of the early San Francisco theater appear. The marked difference, and the difference that makes the Oregon theater a frontier theater in the American tradition, is that there was no dominant urban center with firmly established resident companies until nearly the end of the century. Theater buildings existed in Portland, Salem, Vancouver, Oregon City, and a few other places; but most towns had only makeshift halls. Corvallis used the court house until the completion of the Masonic Building in the 1880's. At Eugene City, the infant university achieved its first building in 1871, but because the theater was disapproved of by the officials, any players who wandered into this new center of culture were housed downtown in Lane's Hall, "out by the slough." Wagon shows were far more important in Oregon than in California, and Mrs. Ernst gives much interesting material on their productions, which continued down into the present century, for even with the building of new and sometimes elaborate theaters in Portland, Astoria, and Seattle in the 1870's and '80's, the inland towns lacked theaters and looked to the wagon shows for entertainment even after the railroads had begun to link the inland and the seacoast towns.

An interesting parenthesis in Mrs. Ernst's book deals with the Chinese Theater —a subject worthy of a book in itself and one that has yet to be thoroughly studied. A Chinese theater flourished in Portland from 1879 to 1904. At one time Portland, with a population of something more than 12,000 Chinese, supported two Chinese theaters, and Mrs. Ernst notes briefly that there were also Chinese theaters in Astoria and Seattle.

The organization of any book is always a problem, and Mrs. Ernst, like many another author has not been completely successful in planning the sequence of her work. In Chapters VII and VIII, fairly detailed accounts are given of the development of stock companies, and of the "tycoons" who controlled much of the theater in the Northwest and indeed the Pacific Coast in general. Such names as George Baker, Calvin Heilig, John Cort, John Considine, and Alexander Pantages are familiar to all students of the theater, and a consideration of their work brings the author down to approximately 1940. It is somewhat disconcerting, then, to find that Chapter IX deals with "The Storied Nineties." Here Mrs. Ernst has provided interesting details about the most elaborate theaters built in the last years of the century and has a few brief remarks about the famous people who appeared in them.

The final chapter, "New Century on Stage" tries to cover too much material, and the result is a rather disappointing series of notes on music halls, light opera, the little theater movement, and the establishment of schools of drama in the Northwest. And it is hardly fair to dismiss in two very brief paragraphs the greatest contribution Oregon has made to the theater to date: the superb Ashland Shakespearian theater, which in spite of many obstacles and setbacks in its early years has persisted for more than a generation and has emerged as the most polished, the most mature theater of its kind anywhere in America.

The book contains a useful bibliography of periodicals, newspapers, and books. It is completed with an admirable index.

Frank L. Fenton, now in retirement, was formerly professor of English, dean of instruction, and acting president of San Francisco State College. A graduate of Stanford University, where he received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees, Dr. Fenton wrote his doctoral dissertation on "The San Francisco Theatre, 1850-1860."

John Doyle Lee, 1812-1877, Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat. By Juanita Brooks. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1961. 404 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Everett Gordon Hager.

Mrs. Brooks and Dr. Robert G. Cleland worked together in editing the many letters and diaries of John Doyle Lee which appeared in the two-volume study, *A Mormon Chronicle.* In addition to this work, Mrs. Brooks earlier introduced Lee to a wider audience in the authentic study, *Mountain Meadows Massacre.* Now she has brought forth the definitive biographical study of a much maligned man who is one of the most interesting and controversial figures in the history of the West. This book establishes Mrs. Brooks as the outstanding authority in the United States on the Mountain Meadows tragedy, as she unearths new data which give a clearer understanding of the man, his times, and the religious pressures and attitudes prevailing in the mid-nineteenth century.

In spite of Lee's peculiar style of spelling, he assiduously and meticulously kept his journals where he faithfully recorded his thoughts and reactions. His early diaries reveal his missionary activities and his trip to Santa Fe in the tracks of the Mormon Battalion, while court records of his trials cast new light on the interpretation of a most unusual career. He was a frontiersman, colonizer, and one who stoically accepted his trials and execution for participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Many of the published accounts of this tragedy pointed the finger of accusation solely at Lee and bypassed others who had as much, or more, of a part than he. The massacre placed such an ugly blot upon Lee and his forebears that now, after almost eighty-four years of earnest efforts to clear his name, the Mormon Church—through the actions of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve—absolved him on April 20, 1961, and authorized his reinstatement to membership, along with former blessings.

Mrs. Brooks has established that Lee was not alone in this unfortunate episode. In doing so, she has not only presented a masterly job of literary detection and a devotion to recruiting and to assembling all known facts about the Mountain

Meadows Massacre, but has also written a truly great biographical study of John Doyle Lee.

Everett G. Hager, coauthor of *The Historical Society of Southern California Topical Index* and of the *Cumulative Index—Westways-Touring Topics 1909-1959,* is a student of Mormon activities in the West.

The Hyatt Legacy. By Phyllis H. Gardiner. (New York, Exposition Press, 1959. 301 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by Sister M. Anita, i.h.m.

As the author indicates in the subtitle, *The Hyatt Legacy* is indeed "the saga of a courageous educator and his family in California." Being the youngest of the Hyatt family, Mrs. Phyllis H. Gardiner (the author) was in a position to assemble information concerning them. That she succeeded is attested to by a reading of the book itself. Perhaps one of the most significant features of this saga is the candid treatment of the Hyatt family from one so intimately associated with them.

However, not only do we follow chronologically this remarkable man, Edward Hyatt—and his equally remarkable wife, Margaret (Maggie) Gill Hyatt—through a fascinating and inspiring life, but we also glimpse parts of California in their natural, social, and political setting from the 1880's to the end of World War I.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of this story is the persevering courage and cheerful patience of both Mr. and Mrs. Edward Hyatt. Likewise there is a very clear presentation of the former's serious illness (tuberculosis); it is because of this sickness that the Hyatt family moved from Ohio to California.

The family relationship is intimately told in a fascinating, vivid, and popular style. The lives of the children of this union are woven into the main theme which relates in some detail the story of their parents. Inez is born before their coming to California. Later, Shirley, Margharita, Eddie, Raymond, Victor, Antonia, Persis, and Phyllis—in the order of their age—are added to this closely-knit family circle.

The scientific training of Edward and Maggie in geology at the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College (later Ohio State University) lends a certain technical touch to the account. The development of the public school system in San Jacinto, Riverside, and San Diego is presented rather informally with the ascendancy of Mr. Hyatt to the office of state superintendent of public instruction despite determined political opposition from Myron H. Hopkins and such changes as the county split (Riverside from San Diego) and the rivalry of Hemet and San Jacinto.

The beginning days of Stanford University are intimately chronicled with the friendship of its president, David Starr Jordan, and Hyatt, whose prodigy Charley Stoddard is admitted among the first students. The familiar style of the book is evidenced again here:

> Dr. Jordan had not forgotten the boy from San Jacinto. When Stanford University

opened its doors on October 1, 1891, there were nearly a thousand applications from many states and from foreign countries, but only 465 students could be admitted. Charley Stoddard was accepted on the president's recommendation.

Edward had dug deep for the hundred dollars Charley brought along in his pocketbook. "An investment," Edward called it. "An investment in a San Jacinto boy—safer and surer than San Jacinto land." Charley carried along, too, a jar of snakes from the desert. "Your passport," Edward told him, "to the president's office. (Dr. Jordan was a renowned ichthyologist.)

The actual historical aspects are related in a light conversational manner. There are no documentary references either by footnoting, appendices, bibliography, etc. Since the book does not pretend to be a piece of scholarly research, this is partly excusable. However, where certain definitely controversial matters are presented, it would seem desirable to authenticate such statements as the following—in conjunction with the mission system:

> "Yes," he said, "it (Spanish California) was an empire and it was ruled like an empire. The Indians who became converts were virtually slaves, providing the labor to operate the ranchos. It's no wonder the church grew so rich and powerful."

SISTER M. ANITA, I.H.M., assistant professor of history, is the chairman of the department of history at Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles.

Invitation to the Romance of History. By Lorentz I. Hansen. (New York, Exposition Press, 1961. 111 pp. $3.00.) Reviewed by James M. Jensen.

Lorentz Hansen has presented this volume to the reader to show "a way to look at history and like it." The criticism that students know little history is not a new one. Those of us who teach history are aware of the fact that many of our students do not like the subject. There is an endless complaint of having to learn too many names, dates, and places. The author has attempted in this book to make the study of history the pleasure it should be and not the drudgery it often is.

To stimulate interest, the author begins with asking questions concerning the past with the hope that the unanswered questions will lead the reader to search for the unknown. He writes of finding and possessing guide lines "that can lead you to any door of history you may want to open now or in the future." (To Dr. Hansen, the study of history is a look into the romantic past.) With the use of the time-line, the author presents time marching from the past to the present with the important events and people appearing chronologically as they come and go on the "stage of life." The idea of taking a historical "safari" with the use of various media has merit.

Dr. Hansen has performed a service. The reader will find much in this book to stimulate further reading. I am fearful that the great value of this book may never be found by those for whom it was intended. The uninterested will not go beyond the first chapter.

JAMES M. JENSEN, a graduate of Pomona College and Claremont Graduate School, is chairman of the history department at Citrus College.

Hepah, California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, during the Years 1848-1849. Edited by Henry F. Dobyns. (Tucson, Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1961. 113 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

This journal throws a welcome light on one of the least known overland journeys and military movements of a large body of American troops in the middle of the last century. Also, it presents, only too vividly, the worse than blundering and unheroic conduct of U. S. Army officers in the wake of a victorious war. Couts was a keen observer and while chronicling day to day happenings made interesting comments on the climate, ethnology, and ecology of the mountains and deserts through which he travelled. This publication furthermore provides a helpful check on the sensational memoirs published by *Life* magazine in 1956. These were abstracts from a long manuscript written and illustrated by Samuel Emery Chamberlain. More of that manuscript later appeared in book form: each with the title of *My Confession.*

Both Couts and Chamberlain were members of the detachment which rode from Monterrey in old Mexico to Los Angeles, California in 1848-49. Chamberlain left the expedition shortly after it passed through Tucson so did not describe the complete trip as does this journal. Four excellent sketches by Chamberlain are reproduced in the book as well as a portrait of Couts, probably by a Mexican photographer.

The original manuscript of Couts' journal covers the earlier period of his military career, but this publication commences with his arrival in Monterrey on January 10, 1848, where he remained until the following June. He had graduated from West Point in 1843 and then became a second lieutenant in the Second Dragoons. Because he had been assigned to garrison duties in the States while the fighting went on in Mexico, his only service in that country was with the occupation forces while peace negotiations proceeded. He was now a first lieutenant in charge of a company of the First Dragoons.

On July 25, 1848, Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington, a distant relative of George Washington, commanded the several companies of the First and Second Dragoons which marched north from Monterrey. Their departure was part of the retirement of the United States Army from Mexico after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. At Sacramento in Chihuahua, the column divided, some of the dragoons proceeding under Washington's command to Santa Fe, while four other companies, including Couts', turned towards California to reenforce the Army there. This column left Sacramento on September 4 and until it reached Los Angeles on January 9, 1849, was commanded by Major Lawrence P. Graham. The total distance covered from Monterrey to Los Angeles was 1,613 miles.

Major Graham apparently had served with gallantry during the fighting; but after his detachment left Sacramento, his inept management and despotic conduct constitute the central theme of Lieutenant Couts' journal. To quote from

Mr. Dobyns' well-written Prologue, Couts' "description of the decision-making process of Major Graham's command form a significant social document of their times and profession." Graham's chief occupation on the entire journey seems to have been the consumption of whiskey. He frequently allowed other officers and even enlisted men to join him. On one occasion the entire company comprising the rear guard became uproariously drunk. Couts' reaction was "give me a tyrant and despot but... deliver me from a barrel of whiskey for a commanding officer."

In addition to his devotion to whiskey, the major usually was attended by one or more women picked up along the way. It is not surprising to read that such a commander, although warned of the danger, marched his column for several days through a canyon subject to floods. A sudden cloudburst swelled the little creek to a raging torrent twenty feet high in a few minutes. Wagons were washed away, and every article in the train damaged. An ambulance was carried downstream, and its sick passenger left hanging all night in a tree. On another occasion the major insisted on selecting a brush patch thick with Spanish bayonets and prickly pears for a campsite although an open, grassy, meadow lay within a hundred yards. Graham's contemptuous neglect of the feed supply caused great damage to the livestock.

The commander's orders were capricious, contradictory, and sadistic. While passing the mission of San Xavier del Bac, Graham saw Chamberlain drawing the church in his sketch book. He snatched the book and struck the artist's face with it, then had Chamberlain tied up for two hours and later placed in irons. Chamberlain records that it was Lieutenant Couts who, as officer of the day, had him cut down.

The journal throws interesting sidelights on the California Gold Rush. As the column moved across northern Sonora, it encountered hordes of Mexicans—men, women and children—flocking to the gold fields. The dragoons also passed many Sonorans on their way home, having already "struck it rich." The soldiers pressed forward with renewed vigor, everyone anxious "to make his pile" in the diggings.

Despite the arbitrary and abusive treatment often dealt the Mexican population by Major Graham and his kind of soldiers, no hostility was ever displayed towards the dragoons. The memory of American victories over Mexico's armies was still too fresh. "People," wrote Couts, "think Americans are *every thing*."

Although Couts himself was a West Pointer, his acid comments on fellow officers were not confined to Major Graham. He had little use for Lieutenant Colonel Washington and, surprisingly enough, expressed a very poor opinion of Colonel Alexander Doniphan. For political generals like Gideon Pillow and James Shields he had the utmost contempt, and the only senior officers mentioned favorably were Generals Stephen Kearny and David Twiggs. The former, he declared in August, 1848, "is a universal favorite in the Army" and Twiggs "the most valuable general in the Army next to Kearny."

The crossing of the Colorado and the desert beyond it were only accomplished with much suffering from the usual scanty feed for the animals, and near starvation rations for the men, no wood, poor water, rain, snow, and freezing weather. Many mules and horses dropped dead, and several more wagons were lost. Jonathan Warner of Warner's Ranch was another character given a bad reputation by Couts. Warner, he wrote, stole a stallion belonging to him.

After arrival in Los Angeles, Couts spent a few months there and then took two companies to San Luis Rey. He later commanded an escort of the U. S. and Mexican Boundary Commission and in 1849 was elected a delegate from San Diego to the state constitutional convention. In 1851 he married a daughter of Don Juan Bandini. Soon afterwards he resigned his army commission and became a ranchero in San Diego County. For a time he was sub-agent for the San Luis Rey Indians but was removed by Superintendent Edward F. Beale. This strengthened Couts' antagonism towards the Army and its officers' corps. He died on June 10, 1874.

The editor's notes, like his Prologue, add much to the interest of this book. This reviewer must note an error in a reference to Colonel Richard B. Mason as "first military and civil governor of California under U. S. rule.... When Kearny left, Mason remained with authority to establish temporary civil government. He proclaimed himself governor ... May 31, 1847." The first military governor was General Stephen Watts Kearny—see the Joint Circular issued by him and Commodore Shubrick on March 1, 1847. Temporary civil government having already been established by General Kearny, the latter when he left Monterey for Fort Leavenworth on the date mentioned above by Mr. Dobyns, transferred all of his military and civil duties to Colonel Mason, who thus became the *second* military governor.

One more note might well have been added to satisfy the reader's curiosity about the title. What does Hepah mean? Presumably it is an exclamation like Hurrah, but neither English nor Spanish dictionaries consulted include such a word.

Mr. Dobyns employs a rather unusual bibliographical form which to this reviewer seems both practical and space saving. Each footnote, instead of naming an authority, lists a number followed by the designated pages of the authority. In the Bibliography, after each number appears the full title of the book, magazine, etc., cited. By this method, each authority need only be named once.

Nine interesting original maps sketched by Couts himself are reproduced in this volume. The journal was printed by Lawton Kennedy of San Francisco, another way of saying that it is a truly beautiful book.

Dwight L. Clarke, first vice-president of the California Historical Society and of the Historical Society of Southern California, is the author of *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West.*

Christmas on the American Frontier, 1800-1900. By John E. Baur. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1961. 320 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Don Meadows.

The American frontier was settled by rugged individuals who came from regions that were predominantly Christian. They brought with them memories of Christmas "back home," and the amenities of the season were never forgotten even though "back home" was miles or years away. How these amenities were cherished by pioneers in raw and primitive surroundings is the thesis of John E. Baur in his book *Christmas on the American Frontier, 1800-1900.* The work is not a Christmas story in the usual sense but a reflection on how environment effects tradition.

Dr. Baur has overlooked no area of the American borderland, nor has he ignored ethnic influences. Observance of Christmas among the Pueblo Indians, by the Mountain Men, in the adobes of California, with the soldiers of the U. S. Army, or under the Arctic lights has given many unusual twists to a basic idea. Regardless of locality the Christmas spirit is the same. Only the details vary. This sameness of theme makes Dr. Baur's book rather tedious reading.

A tremendous amount of research has gone into the compilation of this book. The thoroughness and extent of Dr. Baur's investigation is indicated by the fifteen pages of reference material which, under chapter headings, is located at the end of the text. The number of citations is prodigious. A good index helps to locate people and localities. Illustrations by Charles McLaughlin have an American primitive style which fits well with the theme of the book.

Dr. Baur is the history instructor at the Los Angeles County Museum, and the author of *Health Seekers of Southern California* which appeared in 1959.

Don Meadows, author of *Baja California, 1533-1950* and of *The American Occupation of La Paz,* is curator of the Orange County Historical Society.

A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1810-1957. By Oscar Osburn Winther. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1961. 626 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

Issued as a Social Science Series No. 19 publication of the Indiana University, this bibliography must be considered as a beginning and not as the definitive publication for such a monumental, all-inclusive title.

The earlier edition appeared some twenty years ago, and in this—the 1961 reissue—nine new titles of historical periodical literature have been added. In the earlier edition 3,501 items were covered; this new edition, spanning the years 1938-57, contains some 9,244 references. The format follows the same pattern established in the 1942 printing—subject and geographic classification. Headings as Southwest, Pacific Northwest, Great Plains, as well as state groupings are noted. Further classifications include the Fur Trade, Santa Fe Trail, Russia in America, Mormons, French in the West, Range and Cattle, the Negro in the West, and Transportation and Communication. These classifications create a more diversified bibliographical breakdown of subject materials.

This work will admirably serve the student entering the field of Trans-Mississippi West and provide a quick, ready introduction to some of the periodical material available. It will, however, only provide a brief introduction to the vast array of titles yet to be met.

Paperbacks are wonderful but not as reference tools, as Winther's will prove to be. Priced at $6.00 and issued as a paperback, it presents a good, fat handful of 626 pages. If costs were such a factor, surely a choice could have been offered of cloth or paper binding, as was the case in the 1942 edition. This bibliography is one that will be used often and as a paperback will all too soon attain a dog-eared condition. It is regretted that a sturdier form of binding had not been considered.

Winther in his preface states: "The present publication includes all items listed in the earlier work, and to these have been added the items pertaining to the designated area that have appeared 1938-1957 inclusive. During this interim some new regional journals have emerged and their contents have also been added to this bibliography." One wonders what criterion set the standard for selection and inclusion in this particular bibliography. The all-inclusive bibliography covering such a vast topic is yet to be compiled. Anyone attempting such a herculean task will find such work as Professor Winther's of inestimable value.

If there has been such an acceleration in output of regional history over the past twenty years, how then could so much worthy material dealing exclusively with California be bypassed? Libraries well-established in the field of Californiana will find the selection meager and insubstantial. Where is mention of the standard and highly respected periodicals such as *The Golden Era* (begun in 1852), *Hesperian* (1858), *Overland Monthly* (1868), *Californian* (1880), *Sunset* (1883), *Historical Society of Southern California* (1884), *Land of Sunshine* (1894), *Los Angeles County Pioneers* (1896), *Out West* (1901), *Touring Topics*—now *Westways* (1909), *Masterkey* (1927), *Pony Express Courier* (1934), and the *California Folklore Quarterly* (1942)?

John Walton Caughey noted in his review of the 1942 edition that there was "A serious omission of the fifty-year file of the *Annual* and *Quarterly Publications* of the *Historical Society of Southern California*." This reviewer also calls attention to the omission of this, the oldest, continuously published historical periodical in the state of California. The society, soon to observe its eightieth year (1883), continues to issue its *Quarterly* marking an unbroken publication program since 1884. Long a primary and indispensable source of the history of the southernmost counties of California, it has proved an invaluable fund of source material.

Under Transportation, references are missed of the noteworthy efforts of Carl I. Wheat; of J. Gregg Layne's invaluable bibliography, "Checklist of published materials on Butterfield Overland Mail"; and of Lindley Bynum's study, "The Record Book of the Rancho Santa Ana del Chino," which is a veritable sourcebook of gold seekers en route to the mining regions.

Also the publications *Land of Sunshine* and *Out West,* which have become such treasure troves of information on Arizona, New Mexico, and California, are neglected. Of particular importance stand the contributions of Frederick Webb Hodge, Mary Austin, David Starr Jordan, and the ethnologist Washington Matthews, which appeared in these publications.

Referring to a statement in the preface: "A few random articles appearing in assorted other journals have been added but no special effort has been made to include either so-called 'fugitive literature' or the published transactions of professional societies," how then can this "yardstick of measurement" clarify to the serious student of California these omissions and neglect? True, it is, that a bibliography on the Trans-Mississippi West could not possibly cover all source materials devoted to California. But such serious omissions herewith noted create an inexplicable feeling regarding the selectivity used for the California section.

There is no doubt of the accuracy and skill of Winther in the compiling of his bibliography. His work will find a most useful and needed niche in all libraries devoted to the collecting of Trans-Mississippi West. It just might provide the needed springboard for some enterprising, enthusiastic student-scholar to attempt scaling that "Matterhorn of Trans-Mississippi West" and produce an all-inclusive bibliography a decade or two hence.

ANNA MARIE HAGER is coauthor of *The Historical Society of Southern California Topical Index* and of the *Cumulative Index—Westways-Touring Topics, 1909-1959.*

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

An anthology of Western tales and folklore brought together to interest the promotion of better quality Western writing and to capture the attention of the reading public is to be found in *Legends and Tales of the Old West,* written by members of the Western Writers of America and edited by S. Omar Barker (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, 1962. 408 pp. $4.50). From the wealth of legends of the West, forty-four members have submitted their choice of those worthy to be included in this particular edition. Contributions have been arranged in such categories as "The Golden Magnet," "Moccasin Trails," "Ghosts, Miracles, and Monsters," "Characters—Fabulous and Fantastic," "Outlaws, Gunmen, and Gamblers," and "When the Mining Camps Boomed."

Great Stagecoach Robbers of the West, by Eugene B. Block (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, 1962. 262 pp. $4.50), depicts the first stirrings of crime in the West and the development of the Wells Fargo and various other stage lines. All the greats of the criminal roster of the 1850's to the 1880's are acknowledged and presented.

Souvenirs of the Palm Springs Area, by R. E. Harrington (Published by the author, 1962. 68 pp. $3.00), is indeed just that—a souvenir and a potpourrie of facts and personal anecdotes of the Palm Springs, Coachella, Imperial, Indio, and Martinez districts. Much interweaving of facts, already well-known and easily available, leaves little space for Harrington's firsthand reminiscences and experiences in these desert townsites of the early 1900's.

My Life on the Range, by John Clay (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 372 pp. $5.95), marks another needed reprint of this autobiography of a Scot who became one of the most influential leaders on the American range. Clay's place in the controversial Johnson County War and in the history of American range cattle industry is well described. The work also contains much material of particular importance to the student interested in the history of Montana and Wyoming.

Old and new enthusiasts will experience a surge of pride for the "high irons" when reading Wesley A. Griswold's *A Work of Giants* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962. 368 pp. $6.95). Through the facile and unbiased pen of Griswold, a rich word-picture is painted of the trials, setbacks, perils, and triumphs of the work of both the Union and the Central Pacific during the building of the first transcontinental railroad. Griswold's work, the result of five years of meticulous and scholarly research is a credit to the rich history of railroading. Well-presented are the personages, events, geography, and the countless and almost endless problems that besieged these two companies in their endeavor to span two-thirds of North America with bands of iron.

An objective study of a lifetime of military service which embraced the frontier Indian fighting campaigns to the Spanish-American War will be found in

Virginia Weisel Johnson's *The Unregimented General: A Biography of Nelson A. Miles* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962. 402 pp. $6.95). For the first time, letters from Miles to his wife, giving his frank opinions of contemporaries, are published. Such men as George A. Custer, W. T. Sherman, George Crook, and leaders of the Indian tribes whom Miles had fought against are discussed. Much of the color and drama of these campaigns, which involved such Indian leaders as Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo, is perceptively and objectively depicted.

Henry Wager Halleck, Class of 1836, by Avid S. Sparks and General Joseph Lawton Collins (Schenectady, Union College, Union Worthies, Number 17, n.d. 34 pp.), is a brief biographical sketch of Halleck, the enigma who destroyed his records and therefore became the center of much conjecture. Halleck's services in California as secretary of state and as a member of the California constitutional convention are but lightly touched upon. These sketches, which are published in recognition of the Sesquicentennial of Union College, honor the lives and accomplishments of persons who have been intimately connected with that institution.

Siberian Journey: Down the Amur to the Pacific, 1856-1857, Perry McDonough Collins (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1962. 370 pp. $6.00), originally published in 1860, is the account of a journey based upon notes taken en route and of dispatches sent to the Department of State. This work, which is now edited by Charles Vevier, brought the first real news of Russian activity in eastern Asia. In it, Collins, who served as a lawyer and banker in Sonora of Tuolumne County in 1849-55, revealed developing outlines of a world view that was far ahead of his time as he observed the changes in Czarist Russia's eastward expansion and in the development of Siberia.

With the completion of Glen Canyon Dam in the Upper Colorado River Basin in the not too distant future, *The Hoskaninni Papers, Mining in Glen Canyon, 1897-1902, Robert B. Stanton* will prove of continued interest and value. Edited by C. Gregory Crampton and Dwight L. Smith (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1961. 182 pp. $2.75), these papers provide studies of the natural history of the area and of its inhabitants. Stanton's diaries disclose his unknown and intriguing dream to dredge the entire length of Glen Canyon. His meticulously kept diaries, accompanied by excellent photographs (many taken by Stanton), give a very clear picture of the toil and disappointments suffered in such an enterprise. Stanton's dream proved to be one of the most broadly conceived and expensive private mining enterprises, and his comments make these papers extremely informative and valuable to the history of the area. Rich in engineering, mining, and geologic lore, they will prove of inestimable value to those interested in the Glen Canyon story.

Recollections of a Pioneer Cowboy (A True Story), by Frank M. Cornett (Simi, California, Simi for Service, 1962. 43 pp. $1.50), is another item of strictly local color. This little book of reminiscences of "Sage" Cornett as a cowboy and cattle trader depicts early days of Ventura and Kern counties with much descriptive material on the townsites of Simi, Piru, Saticoy, and on the ranching activities in and around beautiful Conejo Valley.

Land Use Survey: Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore, prepared by Region Four Office of the National Park Service (Oakland, Elliott Printing Company, 1961. 58 pp. apply), could be classed as one of the finest brochures issued outlining all the potentials and values to be derived from a thorough and systematic planning of land use. Clear, well-selected photographs accompany chapters covering the human history, geology, botany, and land ownership—past and present—of the Point Reyes area. Nine fascinating maps in color enhance the skillfully written text. They present not only historic and prehistoric sites, geologic formations, but Mexican land grants with their various divisions and classifications of ownership. Especial mention should be given those charts bearing location, names, and dates of the innumerable shipwrecks along this coastal area, beginning with the *San Agustín* in 1595 to the *San Domenico* in 1935. Invaluable are three sections: *The Geology of the Point Reyes Peninsula*, by Alan J. Galloway; *The Point Reyes Peninsula: An Historical Survey*, by Robert H. Becker, and *The Indian Story of Point Reyes*, by R. E. Treganza.

Well-known in another time and day, and now difficult to reach, the ghost towns of Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, and Oregon are featured in Lambert Florin's excellent *Western Ghost Towns* (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1961. 176 pp. $12.50). The photographs, two hundred in all, are superb, and the text accompanying each is factual, interesting, and sympathetic to the subject. This, the first of Mr. Florin's efforts to capture the tangible but all too quickly departing evidences of numerous Western ghost towns, will provide enchantment and picturesque armchair touring for the modern day city-dweller, and should surely please any wraiths lurking about the fading remnants captured by his camera.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Jimmie Hicks

BOOKS

Ainsworth, Edward Maddin. *The Beckoning Desert.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962. $5.95

Andrews, Ralph W. *Curtis' Western Indians.* Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1962. $12.50

Baird, Joseph Armstrong, Jr. *Time's Wondrous Changes: San Francisco Architecture, 1776-1915.* San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1962. $5.00

Bidwell, John. *Echoes of the Past,* Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1962. $3.25

Bobb, Bernard E. *The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli in New Spain, 1771-1779.* Austin, University of Texas Press, 1962. $5.00

Calder-Marshall, Arthur. *Lone Wolf: The Story of Jack London.* New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1962. $3.50

Caughey, John and La Ree. *California Heritage: An Anthology of History and Literature.* Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962. $10.00

Dekens, Camiel. *Riverman-Desertman: Recollections of Camiel Dekens as told to Tom Patterson.* Riverside, Press-Enterprise Co., 1962. (Reprinted from the *Daily Enterprise,* November 21, 1961-February 3, 1962.) $1.50

Dillon, Richard H. *The Hatchet Men.* New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1962. $5.95

Duke, Donald. *Southern Pacific Steam Locomotives: A Pictorial Anthology of Western Railroading.* San Marino, Pacific Railway Journal, 1962. $4.95

Falbo, Ernest, ed. *California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani, From 1853 through 1871.* Portland, The Champoeg Press, 1962. $10.00

Fisher, M. F. K. *The Story of Wine in California.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. $15.00

Franchere, Ruth. *Jack London: The Pursuit of a Dream.* New York, Crowell, 1962. $3.50

Gudde, Erwin G. *Bigler's Chronicle of the West: The Conquest of California, Discovery of Gold, and Mormon Settlement as Reflected in Henry William Bigler's Diaries.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press. $4.95

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Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are names that have been inscribed for 1961 and 1962.

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Marshall Dill
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Jack Maxfield
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Frederick Caspar Rudolph
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Houghton Sawyer
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Ella Bissell Silvers
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Rayma Murphy Armstrong
George Frederic Ashley
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Maude V. Knutsen
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James Henry Willey
John R. Williams
Roberton F. Williams
Barbara Wolff
Maud N. Woods
Helen Potter Wunderlich

In Memoriam

Marshall Dill

Marshall Dill, who died on December 10, 1961, had an absorbing and devoted love for California in general and San Francisco in particular. Born on Ellis Street on October 9, 1882, he moved at the age of seven to a house built by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Harrison Dill, on Page Street between Fillmore and Steiner. From here he attended the Hearst Grammar School and Mission High School, from which he graduated in 1901. He immediately entered business as an importer and exporter, and also became Western sales agent for Eastern firms specializing in chemicals and supplies for paint manufacturers. He was affiliated successively with Dencker-Dill Company, Dill-Crossett Company, Dill-Coppage Company, and finally simply Marshall Dill.

He became connected early with both civic and business organizations, serving as chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and also as an officer both of the Golden Gate Paint Club and of the National Paint, Oil and Varnish Association. In the thirties, he was appointed first chairman of the Federal Housing Authority for San Francisco, and helped to establish the first low cost housing developments. He became president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce in 1939 and resigned that office only to accept the challenge of the presidency of the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island during the season of 1940. Soon after the Pearl Harbor attack, the Attorney-General appointed him to the Enemy Alien Hearing Board. During the administration of Mayor Roger Lapham, Mr. Dill served as chairman of the Public Utilities Commission at a time of particular strain. It was during his tenure of office that the city bought the Market Street Railway Company and merged its facilities with those of the Municipal Railway, and also during these years the plans for the present greatly expanded San Francisco International Airport were laid and construction started.

Mr. Dill was always an active clubman. At his death he was a member of the Bohemian Club, whose president he had been from 1934 to 1936, the Pacific Union Club, the San Francisco Golf Club, the Menlo Golf and Country Club, and the St. Francis Yacht Club. The last of these recalls the years when he was the proud owner of the motor yacht *Folderol.* Earlier in life he had been a member of the Olympic, the Commercial, and the Marin Golf and Country clubs, as well as being a charter member of the Meadow Club of Tamalpais.

His love for his native area is witnessed by the collection of books, pictures, and historical curiosa concerning California which is preserved at his home at 501 Marina Boulevard.

Mr. Dill was married twice, both times to members of pioneer families. His first wife, Edna Fay Dill, who died in 1935, was a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Philip S. Fay of San Francisco. His second wife, Marian Stone Schmidt Dill, who died in 1954, was born in San Leandro, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Egbert B.

Stone. He is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Aileen Dill Thomson of San Francisco, and a son, Marshall Dill, Jr., chairman of the history department, Dominican College, San Rafael.

MARSHALL DILL, JR.

MARGARET A. JACKS

Miss Margaret A. Jacks, whose family history has been entwined with that of Monterey for more than one hundred years, died on April 7, 1962, in her Palo Alto home. She was eighty-seven years of age, and physically and mentally well until a few hours before her death, having died in her sleep. She maintained her official residence in Casa Castro in Monterey and continued an active interest in that city until her death.

Miss Jack's father, David Jacks, was the greatest landowner in Monterey County and probably the wealthiest. She was the last surviving member of her family.

A graduate of Radcliffe College, Miss Jacks was widely traveled, but lived a quiet but extremely effective life. She gave generously of her wealth and property, both to her native Monterey and to the peninsula, as well as to the state of California.

In January of 1959 Miss Jacks was honored with an Award of Merit by the California Historical Society. In March of 1962 she was presented with a sixty-year pin by the Monterey Bay Chapter of the American Red Cross, of which she was the founder and in which she was active until her death. She was also an active member of the Monterey City Planning Commission and an honorary member of that body.

A founder and former president of the Monterey History and Art Association and of the Monterey Foundation, Miss Jacks was probably most interested in the orderly development of her town and in the preservation of its historic features. Her gifts, together with those of her sisters Lee and Veda have done much to give Monterey its standing as the best preserved monument to the past in California. Her last gift was that of the Old Pacific Building, Memory Garden, and of the old adobe stagecoach stop on Rancho Los Coches near Soledad, both historic landmarks given to the state.

To help preserve the beauty of the past and to help Monterey grow into a pleasant city, Miss Jacks and her sisters gave the state the Casa de Ora, Don Davi Park (the ball park), and Iris Canyon Park. She was also an important contributor in the acquisition of the Friendly Plaza and the Old Custom House, and recently assisted the city in the acquisition of the valuable DeHaven Art Collection which is now in the Monterey City Library where her sister Veda's valuable private library is also housed.

When the will of Margaret Jacks was filed in Monterey, it was disclosed that the bulk of her estate—possibly involving millions—will go to Stanford University.

With the passing of Miss Margaret A. Jacks, an era has also passed. She was one of the most kindly, dependable, friendly, and generous persons one could ever have had the privilege of knowing.

Mayo O'Donnell

WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD

The Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award, made annually in the field of history, cartography, or bibliography and presented to the author of the work published within the preceding two calendar years which the Awards Committee shall have deemed most worthy of recognition, was presented to Thomas W. Streeter on September 27, 1962. Mr. Streeter received the award for writing Part III, *United States and European Imprints Relating to Texas, 1795-1845* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960), of his *Bibliography of Texas* (5 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955-60).

Thomas W. Streeter's outstanding contribution to the study of the American West was recognized in the following address delivered during the presentation ceremony by Dr. George P. Hammond, director of the Bancroft Library.

THOMAS W. STREETER

By George P. Hammond

Two of the most extraordinary book collectors of our time have a part in tonight's program—Henry R. Wagner and Thomas W. Streeter. These two men were extraordinary not simply because they collected books—fine books, unique books—but especially because they studied them with as much diligence as they did their business affairs. And one must not forget that in evaluating their achievements in the field of scholarship, both devoted the major part of their lives to successful careers in the business world.

Of the two, Wagner was the "Old Master." His many years in Mexico and Chile had given him a knowledge of their language and history which was earthy, practical, and deep. This fact, backed by his training as a lawyer, and by his handling of Guggenheim's mining enterprises in Latin America, fitted him perfectly for his later career in the Spanish-American cultural field. Gifted with a clear mind, good judgment, and a delightfully frank and open personality, he applied himself to scholarship—on his retirement from business as he was approaching the sixty-year mark—with the same keenness of mind that he had devoted to business. And as is well known to this audience, he produced a long series of books and monographs, some of which were pioneers in their field and have influenced scholars and book collectors for the last half century, and are, in fact, classics of Western Americana.

The other man whom this society is pleased to honor tonight with its highest award was, like Wagner, trained in the law, which profession he practiced for several years, and thereafter engaged in a distinguished and successful business career. Then, emulating Wagner, he retired from the market place at the age of fifty-seven to devote himself more fully to the world of books in the field of history.

The Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award
being presented to Thomas W. Streeter.
Left to right: Thomas W. Streeter, Donald C. Biggs, Dale L. Morgan,
Albert Shumate, and George L. Harding.
Photograph by Irving W. Robbins, Jr.

A few biographical notes about him will serve to illustrate how varied his life has been. Thomas Winthrop Streeter was born in New Hampshire, at Concord, on the 20th of July, 1883. His father, Frank Sherwin Streeter, was for many years the leader of the New Hampshire Bar, and his mother, Lilian Carpenter Streeter, a pioneer for her work for the underprivileged in New Hampshire, was the daughter of Alonzo Philetus Carpenter, chief justice of that state's supreme court. Young Tom received his preparatory education at St. Paul's School, graduated with honors in history from Dartmouth College in the class of 1904, and, after earning a bachelor of laws degree from Harvard Law School in 1907, began the practice of law in Boston with the firm of Choate, Hall & Stewart as clerk for the head of the firm, Charles F. Choate, Jr.

In 1912, Streeter, with the blessing of Mr. Choate, opened his own law office in Boston and soon afterward became active in oil interests in Mexico. Three years later he began to spend much time in New York on the affairs of the newly organized American International Corporation, an early investment trust with an imposing directorate of leading New York bankers, and in 1917 he gave up his Boston law office to become its treasurer, and later its vice-president, after an interlude in 1918 in Washington in the Division of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic at the War Department. In 1923 he became chairman of the board of Simms Petroleum Company, a company in which American International had a large interest. Later in the 1920's Simms was absorbed by a larger company, and in 1931 Streeter was appointed by the New York State Superintendent of Banks to assist in the liquidation of the Bank of the United States which had recently gone to the wall in a rather spectacular fashion. When the affairs of the defunct bank were well on their way to disentanglement, in 1936 he became president of the Mortgage Certificate Loan Corporation, a nonprofit company organized by leading New York banks and insurance companies to relieve the distress of the holders of then-outstanding mortgage loan certificates. Early in 1938 he was asked by the federal court to be a director of the Prudence Bonds Corporation, which was then emerging from a long receivership. Having successfully started the new company on its way, he retired from active business in 1939.

Streeter tells me that he began seriously to collect early historical Americana at the Historical Nuggets Sale of January, 1920, where, in enthusiastic fashion and being quite unknown in the book world, he personally (for the first and only time in his book-buying career) bid in several well known pieces, including Cushman's *Sermon Preached at Plimouth* (London, 1622), also the *Brief Relation ... New England* (London, 1622), and followed this by large purchases, this time through Dr. Rosenbach and Lathrop Harper at the Edgar sales of November, 1920, and January, 1921, where he acquired such items as Champlain's *Des Sauvages* of 1603, his *Voyages* of 1613, and the Mourt Relation of 1622. His purchases of Western books did not begin until some years later. This splurge was in due course followed by an unfortunate tin mining venture in Alaska and the sale in 1923 of the high spots just mentioned and many others for a good round sum to Dr. R. The happy ending is that he has since acquired again other copies of all these high spots, except *Des Sauvages*, the Cushman *Sermon* only this past summer after its absence from his library for almost forty years.

As he gradually became known in the book world, Streeter served as president of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1941-1944; as a member of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, since 1942, and its president 1952-1955; as chairman of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library 1949-1952; as a member of the Council of Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1949-1952, and its chairman in 1952. In 1948 he was made treasurer and chairman of the Finance Committee of New York Historical Society, a position which he still holds. Streeter is a long-time member of the California Historical Society, is a member of the Walpole Society, and last winter was made an honorary member of the Grolier Club.

While still engaged in the world of business, and especially in commercial activities in Texas and Mexico, Streeter paid his first visit to Texas in 1913, after examining oil properties in Mexico—visits which became more numerous in the ensuing years. One result of these trips was an intense fascination with the history of Texas, its colonization, the drama of its revolution from Mexico, and the successful establishment of a republic. Very soon he began to collect materials on this early history, in the course of which he became acquainted with Dr. Eugene C. Barker, for half a century a leading historian and specialist in Texas history, and with Ernest W. Winkler, librarian and bibliographer of the University of Texas, both of whom are remembered by students of the Southwest for their many scholarly contributions to the history of their state.

Even more rewarding, I believe, was Streeter's friendship with Wagner, which began about 1927, though they had met some years earlier, and the personal warmth that developed between the two men. In 1927, Streeter wrote to Wagner and asked if he planned to continue his *Spanish Southwest* beyond 1794, stating that if he did, he would turn over to him his own notes on Texas bibliography. Not only did Wagner disclaim any intention of going on with a bibliography of Texas, but he warmly encouraged Streeter to undertake it, and offered to help with suggestions, and with such materials as he could. From that time forward, Streeter diligently collected books and imprints for his projected Texas bibliography, and the two men were in constant communication regarding the subject until the books were published.

Another phase of Streeter's activities has been an obsession with the beginnings of historical events, and documenting such beginnings with the best and most reliable materials obtainable. In 1951, for example, when the Hroswitha Club paid an informal visit to his library, he thought it would be fun to put on an exhibit of some of his books and imprints, which he called "Americana—Beginnings." Since the labor of doing this was considerable, he promised to assemble them in catalogue form, which he did, with somewhat elaborate descriptions, and published them in a small edition to be sent the members of the club at

Christmas. This catalogue showed the catholic nature of Streeter's historical interests, as indicated by the three divisions of the exhibit: namely, I, the Discovery of America; II, East of the Mississippi; and III, West of the Mississippi, the last two topics containing several subheadings.

As indicated by this example, Streeter's collection includes choice contemporary printed material on the early history of the fifty states of the Union and on such subjects as the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, Hunting and Sport, West in Fiction, and the like. Never content with anything but the best, whether in content or format, he has labored with judgment and discrimination in building one of the great Americana collections of our time. Not satisfied merely with the idea of possession, he has looked upon it rather as an aid to scholarship in a broad sense, and has been most generous and helpful to scholars everywhere.

But let me come back to Texas, the field in which Streeter, working in the Wagner tradition, had formed the most famous collection of imprints in existence and of which he had determined to write a formal bibliography. He reached this decision as early as 1927, yet so great was the volume of material and so meticulous was he in his study of it, that the first two volumes were not published till 1955, under the imprint of Harvard University Press. The dedication read: "To Henry Raup Wagner. The Old Master in whose footsteps I have tried to follow." The Old Master could take pleasure, two years before his death, at this offering from his younger colleague, who later wrote: "... and even now that he is no longer with us, from time to time I catch myself thinking, 'I must write and see what Henry thinks about this'."

This part of his work on Texas Streeter called Part I, *Texas Imprints*, by which term he meant the materials printed within the borders of Texas itself, between the years 1795 and 1845, when it became a state in the Union. Hailed by reviewers everywhere as one of the great achievements in regional bibliography, it must have encouraged its author immensely and given him courage and enthusiasm to press on with his task. Part I contained 670 numbered items, plus a listing of Texas presses, and imprints—two full volumes, a total of 616 pages.

And more was to come. In Part II of this extensive bibliography, Streeter recorded the *Mexican Imprints Relating to Texas* for the same period. It consisted of one volume of 283 pages, published in 1956, also under the Harvard imprint. Previously, little attention had been paid to this field, marking this work as a pioneer contribution.

Four years later, in 1960, Streeter concluded the series with Part III of his *Bibliography of Texas*, entitled, *United States and European Imprints Relating to Texas, 1795-1845*, published in two large volumes, bringing the total number of entries in the completed work to 1,661. As in the earlier volumes, he aimed to record and give a descriptive account of books, broadsides, and maps, an effort that was again acclaimed by the scholarly world as one of great distinction. It is on these two volumes in particular that the Wagner Award is based, though they must be weighed in conjunction with the complete bibliography.

In this final Part, Number III, Streeter made one innovation of importance, by including maps as well as books and broadsides, a contribution of value for the scholar as well as the collector.

To sum up briefly: Streeter's *Bibliography of Texas,* published in three parts, with a total of five volumes, attained a high note of scholarly achievement, in part because it is not simply a list of books, maps, or imprints, but because it has something significant to say about all of the items included.

And, lest the non-*aficionado* back away from such a formidable work in anticipation of dullness, let him hearken to the words of that reviewer who said: "This is one bibliography that can be read just like a novel." This same gentleman, a loyal Texan, to be sure, also urged "some sort of best Texas award," for Streeter's work, but we, the Wagner Awards Committee of the California Historical Society for 1962, feel that his bibliography is much more than a best-Texas book. It is a monument of excellence in this field that scholars may seek to emulate but never surpass.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Wagner Awards Committee, it is a great personal pleasure for me to report a unanimous recommendation of Thomas W. Streeter as the recipient of this award for 1962. I have known both men well and have the highest respect and warmest feelings for both. Serving on the committee with me were John W. Caughey, professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Glenn S. Dumke, chancellor of the California State College system.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF WAGNER AWARD

By Thomas W. Streeter

Mr. President and Members of the California Historical Society:

It is a proud occasion for me on this one hundredth anniversary of Henry Wagner's birth to receive the Wagner Award for my *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845* with its dedication "To Henry Raup Wagner, The Old Master in Whose Foosteps I Have Tried to Follow." I accept the award with gratitude and I like to think it would have pleased Henry Wagner. Between us there was a long and warm friendship growing out of similar tastes and interests, and my Texas bibliography, with its dates 1795-1845, was a continuation for the Texas region of his *Spanish Southwest 1542-1794.*

I am sure that Wagner would have been pleased with the preceding three annual awards. As an historian thoroughly familiar with the beginnings of the Spanish settlement of Upper California, he would have enjoyed and appreciated Father Geiger's account af Serra's last fifteen years—the year 1770-1784, a period to which three-quarters of Father Geiger's work is devoted. As a bibliographer and author of *The Plains and Rockies,* a work that first made known the overland western narratives, he would have given his professional acclaim to Dale Morgan's *Pritchard Diary* which Morgan used as a vehicle for penetrating deeply into the Gold Rush of 1849.

I venture to say that as a bibliographer and cartographer and primarily because of his real passion for collecting, Wagner would have enjoyed most of all Carl Wheat's *The Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West.* There, in a work magnificent in its conception and scholarly in its execution, the maps of the Trans-Mississippi West are assembled to guide the historian and to give the collector an opportunity to appraise, consider, and decide in his own mind the ones he would most like to possess.

In the paper on Henry Wagner which I was privileged to write for the June, 1957, number of the *California Historical Society Quarterly,* I suggested that Wagner's urge to collect was throughout his career his dominating interest; and that to the urge for collecting was added his urge as an historian to record what these books or maps signified. Few have had Wagner's imagination, originality, and effectiveness in the field of collecting; but having myself the collector's urge, I can picture Wagner's zest in reading and appraising the group of maps Wheat has assembled and then deciding on the ones that really counted.

At Christmas time, 1931, Wagner inscribed and sent me Phil Hanna's *Libros Californios.* This as you all know gave lists compiled by Leslie Bliss, Robert E. Cowan, and Wagner of, I quote, "the twenty rarest and most important books dealing with the history of California." My copy, with the annotations I made of some of Wagner's trenchant observations on the lists, is one of my prize possessions. Using Wheat as a basis, what an interesting essay Wagner could have written on "The twenty most important [not rarest] maps on the exploration and building up of the Trans-Mississippi West." *Now,* the one to do this is of course Carl Wheat, and I hope he will undertake it.

The history of California and the Spanish Southwest are matters of interest to people far beyond California, but it is natural and appropriate that they should be the special concern of this society. Its establishment of the Wagner Award testifies to its continuing support of research in these fields. For the encouragement and recognition given by this Award my fellow recipients and I are truly grateful to the California Historical Society.

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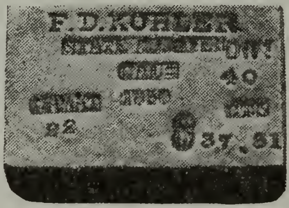

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